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FOCUS

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After *Croson*: New Directions for Minority Business Set-Asides

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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PERSPECTIVE

Bush's Disappointing Civil Rights Veto

President Bush was wrong for vetoing the Civil Rights Act of 1990. The Act is needed to overturn six 1989 Supreme Court rulings that have severely weakened protections from employment discrimination provided by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other statutes. The Court's rulings place greater burdens on plaintiffs—particularly minorities and women—to prove discrimination, and they reduce access to the courts by making judicial challenges more costly and time consuming. One ruling actually allows on-the-job racial harassment. The Act, which passed both houses of Congress by large bipartisan majorities, would restore civil rights laws and court procedures to their previous status.

For these reasons, the President's veto of the Act, on the grounds that it's a "quota bill," is a grave disappointment. The Act states that it shall not be construed to require quotas in hiring or promotion. Moreover, alternatives to the Civil Rights Act forwarded to the President by administration officials, are unacceptable. One such proposal would permit employers to justify excluding minority or women applicants from jobs simply by claiming "customer preference" or "prior successful experience."

Many black Americans had hoped President Bush had gotten beyond the race-baiting "Willie Horton" style of his 1988 campaign. After eight years of Ronald Reagan's retrogressive civil rights policies, many breathed with relief as George Bush gave signs that his administration would be different. Over the last two years, he sought meetings with black elected officials and civil rights leaders, opening the doors of the White House that Reagan had closed. At the Joint Center's annual dinner in April, the President said that he and his administration accepted the challenge of living up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement. But in his most significant opportunity so far to back up those words with action, President Bush has failed.

In the present environment, when white supremacist state legislator David Duke of Louisiana comes within six percentage points of being elected to the U.S. Senate, when Japanese government officials openly sling racial insults at black Americans, when Massachusetts gubernatorial candidate John Silber describes the residents of Boston's predominantly black Roxbury community as "a bunch of drug addicts," and when Ku Klux Klanners march on the U.S. Capitol, the White House should be sending a different signal than a civil rights veto. And what message does it send to black and Latino men and women in military uniform, volunteers all, as they prepare in the Persian Gulf for the possibility of lethal combat? Is the President saying to these valiant Americans that guarantees of equal employment opportunity will not be in place when they are ready to reenter the civilian workforce?

The President was poorly served by advisors who refused to negotiate with the Act's supporters and calculated that sacrificing civil rights progress was a small price to pay for right-wing approval. These political considerations will be looked back on as petty when compared to the great historic question with which this country has wrestled since Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation: Is this nation to remain committed to multiracial pluralism, where people of both genders, of all races, and of all religions can have a fair opportunity to participate in the economic, political, and social life of our society? I wish President Bush's answer to that question were, "Yes, we shall go forward with that commitment." Regrettably, his veto indicates that his administration is headed backward. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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After *Croson*: New Directions for Minority Business Set-Asides

As Lower Courts Continue to Strike Down Set-Asides, Minority Business Advocates Seek Ways to Comply with Judicially Imposed Standards

by Pamela Joshi

During the nearly two years since the U.S. Supreme Court issued its *City of Richmond* v. *J.A.Croson Co.* decision striking down Richmond's minority business set-aside program, lower courts have used the ruling to declare nine programs unconstitutional, while many more cases are pending. Several jurisdictions have voluntarily abandoned their set-aside programs. Despite these setbacks, two set-aside plans have been upheld by courts in Maryland and Washington State. Based on these successes, minority businesses and civil rights organizations are counseling state and local governments to develop new set-aside programs and to restructure existing ones so they meet the standards set down in *Croson*. At a Joint Center conference held last May, government officials, attorneys, scholars, policy analysts, and minority business enterprise advocates considered ways to justify set-aside programs and agreed that a research agenda was needed to deal directly with *Croson* as well as with the broader issues of discrimination in the business sector.

Lower Courts Interpreting *Croson*

In *Croson*, the Supreme Court required that set-aside programs address specifically identified past discrimination and be narrowly tailored to accomplish a specific goal. Since the High Court delivered its decision, lower courts have used this strict scrutiny standard to strike down several set-aside programs. In 15 of the 55 cases involving challenges to set-asides so far, jurisdictions have successfully defended programs from being declared unconstitutional by courts or from being halted by temporary or permanent injunctions, according to the Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense and Education Fund (MBELDEF) in Washington, D.C. However, lower courts have judged nine programs unconstitutional, including the City of Atlanta, the Florida Department of Transportation, the State of Michigan, and the Philadelphia School Board. And 20 state and local jurisdictions have voluntarily suspended their programs or ended them. (see list of voluntary terminations and suspensions of set-asides on page 4).

According to Barbara Arnwine, director of the Washington, D.C., based Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, some of the unfavorable decisions struck down the programs for not being narrowly tailored to remedy identified past discrimination. Courts have found the factual evidence of discrimination used by jurisdictions to justify their set-aside programs inadequate when it has consisted of either general descriptive statistics or unsubstantiated accounts. Courts have also struck down programs that failed to consider race-neutral alternatives, such as reduced surety bonding requirements or direct state and local government offers of financial assistance to small or disadvantaged firms. Finally, other set-aside programs have been invalidated on technical grounds, such as lack of expiration dates, lack of geographic boundaries, no provisions for periodic review, or the inclusion of ethnic groups without prior evidence that they experienced past discrimination.

Justifying Set-Asides

Arnwine believes the Supreme Court will not render a definitive ruling on set-asides in the near future and therefore encourages jurisdictions to proceed with plans to develop new set-aside programs or to restructure existing ones. Some jurisdictions have been further prompted to go ahead with plans since courts have upheld programs in King County (Washington) and the State of Maryland. Conference participants concluded that jurisdictions should consider the legal standards established in *Croson*, take into account lower court interpretations, and establish a body of evidence that will justify the programs.

Several state and local governments are commissioning fact-finding studies to provide the evidence of discrimination that *Croson* requires. To support these efforts, jurisdictions are collecting data to demonstrate the disparities between the number of qualified minority businesses in a state or local market area and the number that have received contracts with the particular jurisdiction.

Franklin Lee, chief counsel and executive vice president of operations at MBELDEF, has advised several governments on how to conduct disparity studies. He cautions that historical analysis of discrimination should not be relied upon as sole justification for a set-aside program but should be used to illustrate the discriminatory environment.

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Ms. Joshi is a research assistant at the Joint Center.

After Croson

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He recommends using both descriptive statistics and anecdotal evidence to establish a convincing case. Anecdotal evidence can be obtained through confidential written surveys of minority firms, in-depth confidential interviews, and public hearings.

Lee also recommends analyzing the form discrimination takes in order to develop a blueprint for the appropriate remedy. He identifies what he calls the "dirty dozen"—12 forms of discrimination in the marketplace. Among them are price discrimination by suppliers (charging minority firms more than white firms), denial of surety bonds to minorities, bid manipulation (arranging bid requests so that nonminority subcontractors can present more favorable terms than minority subcontractors), and exclusion from the "good old boy" network.

Voluntary Terminations and Suspensions of Set-Aside Programs

Colorado, state program (terminated)
Colorado, City of Denver (reduced goals)
Delaware, City of Wilmington (adoption of voluntary goals)
Delaware, New Castle County (suspended)
Florida, City of Fort Lauderdale (suspended)
Indiana, South Bend (suspended)
Illinois, Greater Chicago Water Reclamation District (numerical goals suspended)
Michigan, Genesee County (set-aside initiatives suspended; voluntary, good faith effort required under contract provision)
Minnesota, City of Minneapolis (terminated)
North Carolina, City of Durham (terminated)
North Carolina, Guilford County (terminated)
New York & New Jersey - Port Authority (mandatory goals removed; all other initiatives remain operational)
Oregon, state program (goals removed, replaced with good faith effort and new race-neutral "Emergent Small Business Program" targeted to economically depressed areas.
Oregon, Portland Public Schools (terminated)
Oregon, Lane County (terminated)
Oregon, Salem County (terminated)
Texas, City of Fort Worth (interim disadvantaged business enterprise policy adopted)
Texas, Houston Housing Authority (voluntary 20 percent goal adopted)
Washington State, City of Yakima (suspension presently being sought)
Wisconsin, City of Milwaukee (disadvantaged business enterprise ordinance enacted)

Source: Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense and Education Fund

Many researchers recommend that disparity studies include two other types of data. First, there is the data on utilization of minority firms, some of which is derived from a jurisdiction's contracting records. The second type is the number of firms in existence, and can be derived from sources such as the Survey of Minority-Owned Businesses (see "The Growth and Diversification of Black Businesses" in this issue) or from lists of minority businesses that have been certified. These comparative data are necessary since state and local governments are required to narrowly tailor minority contracting goals to the number of available minority firms in the relevant marketplace.

Lee points out that some minority firms have already lost business opportunities when set-aside programs were suspended during disparity studies. No studies have been conducted at all in some jurisdictions, either because they lack the political will to justify set-aside programs or because of the studies' expense. The City of Atlanta and the State of Florida have each spent more than half a million dollars on their studies.

Studies are sometimes inconsistent in objectives and design, because the lower courts have not indicated what quantity or level of detail is needed to justify set-asides. Researchers differ over whether data must be broken down by major industry groups or by industry subgroups. For example, should a researcher look at the construction industry as a whole or at its subgroups, such as highway and street construction?

Bridget Arimond, a lawyer working for the Washington, D.C.-based Joint Project To Preserve Minority Business Opportunity, recommends looking at major industries. She notes that in the *Croson* decision, the Supreme Court looked at the construction industry as a whole and did not agree with the high level of statistical and analytical detail proposed by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Research and Broader Policy Issues

Many participants in the Joint Center conference indicated that a long-term research agenda is needed to address minority business issues and other issues of discrimination outside the scope of the *Croson* decision. Timothy Bates, chair of the Department of Urban Policy Analysis and Management at the New School for Social Research in New York, recommends further studies be conducted to measure the different aspects of minority business participation in the nation's economy. These studies could examine minority firms' access to markets and entrenched discriminatory practices such as "good old boy" networks.

Another area Bates recommends studying is the category

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October 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

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- **Selma school board dispute settled**
- **Across the Nation: Preview of mayoral campaigns in Chicago and Philadelphia**

Bush Vetoes Civil Rights Bill

MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., once said that justice delayed is justice denied. With President Bush's veto of the 1990 Civil Rights Act, King's aphorism has gained new relevance. Three days after the veto and nine days before Congress adjourned for the year, the Senate failed by one vote to override the veto, thus delaying until the 102nd Congress convenes in January the next opportunity when the measure can be considered again.

Introduced in February by Senator **EDWARD KENNEDY** (D-Mass.) and Congressman **AUGUSTUS HAWKINS** (D-Calif.), the Civil Rights Act was approved by the Senate on July 18 by a vote of 65 to 34 and by the House on August 3 by a vote of 272 to 154. Eleventh-hour efforts by congressional advocates and civil rights leaders to craft a bill acceptable to the White House were to no avail. Nor were pleas for support from influential black Republicans, including Health and Human Services Secretary **LOUIS SULLIVAN**, Office of Personnel Management Director **CONSTANCE NEWMAN**, U.S. Civil Rights Commision Chairman **ARTHUR FLETCHER**, and former transportation secretary **WILLIAM COLEMAN**. In vetoing the measure, Bush charged that it was a "quota bill," a claim the bill's supporters firmly reject. "The temptation to support a bill simply because its title includes the words civil rights is very strong," Bush said. "But when our efforts, however well intentioned, result in quotas, equal opportunity is not advanced but thwarted."

The Congress-approved Act was supported by a broad coalition of civil rights, human rights, religious, labor, and women's organizations, but the business lobby, led by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and numerous conservative organizations, adamantly opposed it. White House Counsel C. BOYDEN GRAY, played a key role in stonewalling the negotiations with advocates of the Act and encouraged the President to use his veto. Supporters of the bill denounced Bush's action, noting that it places him in the company of ANDREW JOHNSON and RONALD REAGAN as the only presidents ever to veto laws protecting civil rights. JOSEPH LOWERY, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), referred to former Ku Klux Klan leader and failed GOP senatorial candidate DAVID DUKE when he said, "The veto is the administration's response to the voices echoing from the bayous of Louisiana. It is a genuflect before the altar of racial bigotry."

BENJAMIN HOOKS, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said, "We are disappointed, but this is far from being a closed issue. When the new Congress convenes in January, the Civil Rights Act will be back and so will we." **Senator Kennedy has indicated that he will reintroduce the bill, with stronger language, in the next Congress.**

Magazine Offers Tips for Defeating Blacks, Women

One evening during the 1988 Democratic National Convention, veteran ABC journalist **DAVID BRINKLEY** inquired of his colleague **PETER JENNINGS**, "Is it over for the white male politician?" According to the August/September 1990 issue of the political magazine *Campaigns and Elections*, Brinkley's query reflects a concern among white male politicians that they are losing their grip as the dominant power. In the age of inclusive politics, with the ranks of elected blacks and women having grown significantly over the last two decades, white male control is perceived in some quarters to be in jeopardy.

The magazine features an article entitled, "How to Defeat Women and Blacks." A must-read for anyone suffering from what the article calls "the white man's burden," the non-tongue-in-cheek feature lays out seven strategies that can be used "effectively against women and minority opponents." Contending that black and female candidates tend to cloak themselves in the armor of the underdog, the article suggests tactics for penetrating that armor. It advises white male candidates to: accent the negative predispositions people have about black and female candidates; patronize and be condescending toward opponents at every given opportunity; emphasize macho, middle-class issues; choose controversial targets carefully to avoid backfire; and immediately establish themselves as fair-minded people to avoid perceptions of racism and sexism.

The unsigned article, which appears in the periodical's "Political Adviser" section, also laments the difficulty white candidates have had in running negative campaigns against their minority opponents. It quotes campaign managers, pollsters, and political and media consultants who cite incidents validating their claims that it may be suicidal for a white male to challenge a black or female candidate on certain issues. **For instance, according to the article, to say a female candidate is soft on crime, defense, or foreign affairs may be interpreted as sexist, and to say that a black candidate is soft on crime and a liberal big spender on social programs may be interpreted as racist. "They're unassailable," one campaign official is quoted as saying. "They're ready, no matter what you say, to respond with accusations that you're racist or sexist. It's impossible to attack a woman or black candidate, even if you're right."**

The article's tone is urgent. Its anonymous author seems to believe the white male politician has become a "victim" of inclusive politics and faces extinction unless strategies are implemented to ensure his survival. If the author is indeed thinking along those lines, his views cannot be substantiated by current data. In terms of numbers, women and blacks have certainly made progress. **But calculations from the Joint Center and from Rutgers University's Center for the American Woman and Politics show that out of all elected officials in the country, just 14 percent are women and 1.4 percent are black. In the 101st Congress, black members represent five percent of that 535-member body and the female members of Congress constitute only six percent.**

Selma Update

After eight months of racial strife sparked by the dismissal of Selma's black school superintendent, Dr. NORWARD ROUSSELL, blacks and whites in the community have reached a tentative agreement that both sides hope will bring calm and unity to their school system. The problems began last December when the 11-member school board voted along racial lines (six whites for and five blacks against) to dismiss Roussell, charging that he had a "dictatorial" management style. Many black parents countered that the charge was racially motivated. They pointed out that Roussell had challenged and discarded such practices as an academic tracking system which had kept black students out of college preparatory courses.

The board's action touched off a five-week student sit-in at Selma High School, a temporary shutdown of the school system, a walk-out by the five black school board members, and, in April, Roussell's resignation. Protests became so volatile that at one point state troopers and the National Guard had to intervene, a chilling reminder of the Selma to Montgomery civil rights march 25 years ago. According to **EDWIN L. MOSS**, Sr., a black member of the city council and one of those credited with bringing the parties to the negotiating table, Roussell's dismissal was the straw that broke the camel's back. "The real problem," says Moss, "is that the school system is 75 to 80 percent black and the board is predominantly white because the white-majority city council appoints the school board members." Blacks make up 57 percent of Selma's population.

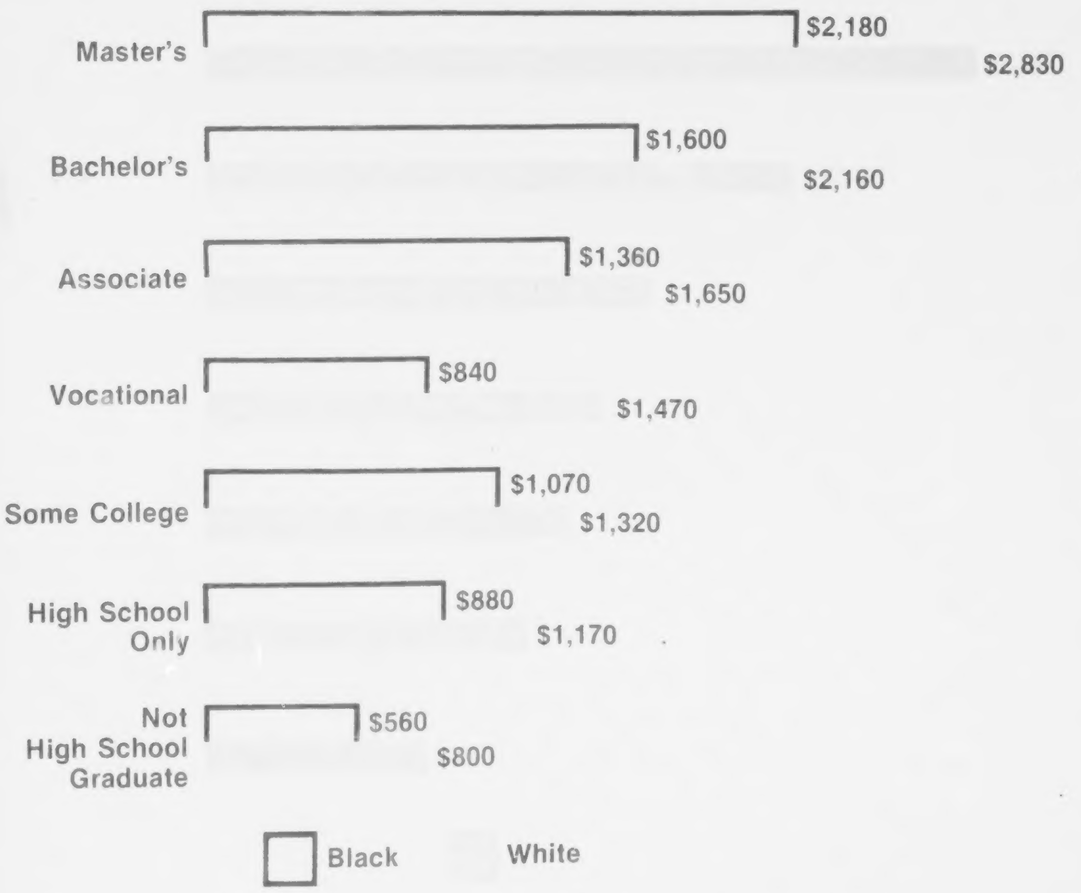
The agreement negotiated in August between the school board, the city council, and a parents' organization called B.E.S.T. (Best Educational Support Team), provides for the return of the board's five black members. The board chairmanship and the board majority will alternate between the races every other year, beginning this year with a majority-black body. The agreement will come into effect only if the lawsuits filed during the school board protest are dropped.

Reverend CHARLES A. LETT, a black 15-year board member who will replace the current chairman, CARL BARKER, when he resigns, is apprehensive about the proposed rotating majority. Lett points out that the chairmanship had already been alternating between the races before Barker took office in 1986. "The student population is not majority black one year and majority white the next," he says, "so why should the board be that way?" The board has not appointed a new superintendent to replace Roussell nor has a search committee been selected. The interim superintendent is JAMES A. CARTER, a black man who served as executive assistant under Roussell.

Blacks of Equal Education Trail Whites in Income

According to a recently released Census report, *What's It Worth? Educational Background and Economic Status: Spring 1987*, the income of blacks continues to lag behind that of whites with similar education. Another Census report, *School Enrollment–Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1988 and 1987*, also reveals that the gap in college enrollment between black males and females is expanding as the number of black men attending institutions of higher learning is on the decline.

Average Monthly Income and Educational Attainment, by Race: 1987



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *What's It Worth? Educational Background and Economic Status: Spring 1987*

Not only do the Census reports show that bachelor's and master's degrees are worth less to blacks than they are to whites, they also show that the number of blacks receiving post-secondary degrees is declining. Between 1984 and 1988, the enrollment of young black men in colleges dropped steadily, from 544,000 to 426,000, while the enrollment of their female peers was rising, from 595,000 to 689,000. By 1988 the number of black men attending college was less than two-thirds the corresponding number for black women.

These figures justify the frequently voiced concern about the passage of black men through the educational pipeline and their future in American society. While the educational achievement of children from practically all backgrounds is declining, according to a National Center for Educational Statistics report, black males are especially likely to measure below their "modal" grade (the grade level where most children of a given age are enrolled).

The Center's report, *The Condition of Education, 1990,* notes that among all races and ages, those most characterized by below-modal achievement are black 13-year-old boys. Underachievement among these students exacerbates their increasing likelihood to drop out of high school later. It is feared that if this trend continues, the available pool of young black men entering college and going on to graduate will continue to shrink. A study by the Office of Minorities in Higher Education of the American Council on Education shows that from 1978 to 1988, the number of black men receiving doctoral degrees dropped in half (by 47 percent), while among white men it dropped far less severely, by 21 percent.

Across the Nation

ILLINOIS: With Chicago's mayoral primaries less than four months away, the rumor mill is already humming with possible candidate names. Potential black candidates include: former alderman and mayor EUGENE SAWYER; Alderman TIMOTHY EVANS; former appellate court judge R. EUGENE PINCHAM, Sr.; Alderman DANNY DAVIS; and Cook County Recorder of Deeds CAROL MOSLEY BRAUN. None of these potentials has publicly announced a decision to run. Meanwhile, white former mayor JANE BYRNE has announced that she will make a bid and Mayor RICHARD DALEY is expected to seek reelection.

Sawyer served as interim mayor after the death of Mayor **HAROLD WASHINGTON** in 1987, and made an unsuccessful bid to stay on as mayor in last year's special mayoral election. One of Sawyer's competitors in last year's race was Alderman Evans, who was supported by Rev. **JESSE JACKSON**. **Evans ran as a member of the Harold Washington Party, a year-old black political party named after the city's first black mayor, which Evans helped establish.** Pincham, who left the Democrats to join the Harold Washington Party this summer, is currently running for the Cook County Board of Commissioners. Davis was a protege of the late Washington, a committeeman in the Cook County Democratic Party, and a former congressional candidate. Braun is the first black woman elected to the recorder's office, which she won in 1988, and is well regarded in the city.

The primary will be held in February and the general election on April 2. School reform and crime are expected to be the major issues.

PENNSYLVANIA: The political grapevine in the City of Brotherly Love reports that the list of applicants for two-term mayor **WILSON GOODE's job is getting crowded. Two potential black candidates are veteran City Council Member LUCIEN BLACKWELL and first-term City Council Member GEORGE R. BURRELL, Jr. Some in the Philadelphia press think a draft may be engineered in the black community to coax black former city managing director JAMES S. WHITE into running for office. White resigned his position in April and is now vice president of Provident Bank in the city.**

Potential white candidates, meanwhile, include former district attorney **EDWARD RENDELL**, current district attorney **RONALD CASTILLE**, and Philadelphia Congressman **TOM FOGLIETTA**. Former police commissioner and two-term mayor **FRANK RIZZO** has announced his intentions and opened a campaign office. Foglietta and Rendell are Democrats, while Castille and Rizzo, a former Democrat himself, are Republicans.

Rizzo, who served as mayor from 1971 to 1979, is considered the leading Republican contender. He is notorious for his harsh treatment of blacks when he was police commissioner in the 1960s and for his insensitivity to the black community during his tenure as mayor.

The campaign will probably take shape along two major themes: controlling City Hall and solving Philadelphia's financial woes. The municipal government has been controlled by the Democratic Party for 40 years and by a black mayor for the last eight. Given Rizzo's role, this year's election is not only a struggle for party control but is racially charged as well. Philadelphia is also on the edge of bankruptcy, with an estimated fiscal year debt of more than $200 million. The two parties have been pointing fingers at each other in an attempt to lay the blame for the financial crisis.

The Growth and Diversification of Black Businesses

The Expansion of Black Firms Between 1982 and 1987 May Be Threatened by a Recession or Abandonment of Minority Set-Asides

by Joyce E. Allen

During the 1980s, black-owned businesses increased in number and became more diverse, according to newly released data from the U.S. Census Bureau's 1987 Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises. The survey, which has become a benchmark for assessing the state of black-owned firms, revealed a substantial increase in their number and expansion in such industries as manufacturing, wholesale trade, and finance, insurance, and real estate. This growth and diversity promises greater employment opportunities and increased investment in black communities, and it also offers more black entrepreneurs for youth to emulate.

The survey data show that the number of black-owned businesses rose greatly in construction and business services, an increase due in part to minority set-aside programs at state and local levels. However, some of these programs have been suspended or struck down by the courts in the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court's 1989 *City of Richmond* v. *J.A. Croson Co.* decision (see "After Croson: New Directions for Minority Business Set-Asides" in this issue).

This article examines changes in black-owned businesses from 1982 to 1987, patterns of growth in industries where set-aside programs exist, and prospects for future growth in the black business sector. Analysis of the Census data indicates that the gains made by black businesses from 1982 to 1987 could be threatened if jurisdictions are not able to continue their set-aside programs or if there is a downturn in the economy. During the 1981-82 economic recession, black businesses were particularly hard hit and suffered financial losses, after adjusting for inflation.

More Businesses and Higher Earnings

The Census survey reveals that there were approximately 424,000 black-owned firms in 1987, an increase of 38 percent from 1982 (Table 1)*. Even more noteworthy is the 87 percent jump in the number of firms with paid employees (from about 38,000 in 1982 to nearly 71,000 in 1987). Approximately 220,000 employees were in black-owned firms in 1987, compared to 121,000 in 1982. Most are black or from other minority groups. Despite the fact that their number nearly doubled, the firms employing them employed less than five percent of the minority workforce in 1987.

Another measure of black business growth was the amount of sales and receipts generated by firms. The Census Bureau data show that aggregate sales grew by about 75 percent, climbing from $11.3 billion to $19.8 billion during the five-year period. (All figures measured in constant 1987 dollars.) The average sales and receipts per black-owned firm rose from approximately $36,600 to $46,600, a 27 percent increase (Table 1). However, not all types of firms registered gains. For example, among firms without paid employees, sales and receipts actually declined over the five-year period, while they rose by nearly 13 percent among firms with paid employees. Despite this growth, black-owned businesses lagged substantially behind U.S. firms as a whole in 1987 (with average sales and receipts of $46,600 for black firms versus $145,700 for all U.S. firms).

A Broader Industry Mix

The Census survey reveals that black-owned businesses as a group, like the U.S. business and corporate community, are heavily concentrated in two industries—services and retail trade. A disproportionately high number of black-owned firms were in these industries (65.0 percent compared to 59.8 percent of all U.S. firms). Nevertheless, the fact that the proportion of black-owned firms in these industries declined slightly (by 2.3 percentage points) indicates a trend toward diversification (Table 2). Further, the percentage of firms in transportation and public utilities, construction, manufacturing, agricultural services, wholesale trade, and finance, insurance, and real estate all increased over the period. The trend toward diversification within the black business sector could make it less vulnerable to future downturns in the national economy.

The gains were particularly impressive in manufacturing

(Continued on page 6)

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* Many of the businesses in the Census survey have no paid employees. Included in this category are street vendors, door-to-door salespeople, consultants, and persons selling cosmetics, perfume, and other goods part-time.

Dr. Allen is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.

Black Businesses

(Continued from page 5)

Table 1. Number and Average Receipts of Black-Owned Firms

	1982	1987	Percent Change
Number			
All Black-Owned Firms	308,260	424,165	37.6
Without Paid Employees	270,419	353,350	30.7
With Paid Employees	37,841	70,815	87.1
Average Receipts[a]			
All Black-Owned Firms	$36,624	$46,592	27.2
Without Paid Employees	16,991	15,940	- 6.9
With Paid Employees	176,937	199,540	12.8

[a]Constant 1987 dollars

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises—Black, MB87-1*, July 1990

and in finance, insurance, and real estate; the number of black-owned firms in each area rose by more than 100 percent from 1982 to 1987. Black-owned firms also grew rapidly (by more than 50 percent) in the following industries: wholesale trade, construction, agricultural services, transportation and public utilities, and services.

There was significant growth of black-owned business in construction and in business services (e.g., advertising, computer and data processing, janitorial services, and mailing), two sectors where minority set-asides aided expansion among minority firms nationwide. Within the construction industry, the number of black general building contractors rose by 61 percent, from 3,909 in 1982 to 6,285 in 1987, while the number of black heavy construction contractors, including those with highway and street construction capabilities, climbed by 12 percent, from 570 to 638. The magnitude of this increase is substantially greater among black contractors with paid employees. Growth among general building contractors was 172 percent and in heavy construction expanded by 94 percent.

Business-service firms made up the largest share of black-owned firms in the services industry at 28 percent, followed by personal service (beauty and barber shops, laundries, cleaners) at 27 percent. In 1982, among employer firms only, black business-service firms comprised the third largest category within the services industry. By

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Table 2. Industry Distribution of Black-Owned Firms

Industry	Number of Firms 1982	Number of Firms 1987	Percent Change
Services	136,664	209,547	53.3%
Retail Trade	70,811	66,229	- 6.9
Transportation and Public Utilities	23,907	36,958	54.6
Construction	22,459	36,763	63.7
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	12,957	26,989	108.3
Manufacturing	3,707	8,004	115.9
Agricultural Services, Forestry and Fishing	4,592	7,316	59.3
Wholesale Trade	3,119	5,519	77.0
Mining	270	322	19.3
Industries Not Classified	29,774	26,518	-12.3
Total	**308,260**	**424,165**	**37.6**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises—Black, MB87-1*, July 1990

The Color of Capital Punishment

Since the Death Penalty Was Reinstated 14 Years Ago, Those Executed Are Disproportionately Black and From Impoverished Homes

by David C. Ruffin

This election year, opposing gubernatorial candidates in Texas and California faced off over who was more willing to sentence criminal offenders to death. What the candidates did not say on the stump was that the vast majority of people awaiting execution on America's death rows are very likely to be black poor, or mentally ill or impaired.

The Supreme Court banned executions in 1972 but then reinstated them in 1976. According to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, there are now 36 states where capital punishment is legal. Since 1976, 141 defendants have been put to death, of whom 56 (40 percent) were black.

Many of those condemned to death are from poor backgrounds. Minorities are highly represented, and illiteracy, as well as severe mental and emotional problems, is common. Of the 2,393 inmates waiting on death row across the nation, Legal Defense Fund figures reveal that nearly half are people of color.

Race and Sex of Death Row Inmates (Total 2,393)

White	1,207	(50%)
Black	946	(40%)
Hispanic	165	(7%)
Native American	44	(1%)
Asian	14	(1%)
Unknown	17	(1%)
Sex: Male	2,362	(99%)
Female	31	(1%)

Source: NAACP Legal Defense And Education Fund, Capital Punishment Project, October 1990

According to Karima Wicks, research director of the Legal Defense Fund's Capital Punishment Project, about half of the inmates on death row are mentally ill or emotionally disturbed, between 10 and 20 percent are mentally retarded, and many are victims of fetal alcohol syndrome (born to alcoholic mothers). Of the 16 states that have used capital punishment since 1976, 10 are in the South. In fact, nearly three quarters (104) of those executed were put to death in five Southern states alone (Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, and Virginia).

Opponents of the death penalty have given up on efforts to ban it on constitutional grounds. According to Steven Hawkins, a Legal Defense Fund attorney who defends inmates sentenced to death, Thurgood Marshall is the only justice left on the Supreme Court who is opposed to capital punishment. Lawyers from the Legal Defense Fund now focus on reversing the sentences of condemned prisoners--many of whom are indigent and were defended by inexperienced court-appointed lawyers. "These efforts are not as successful as they have been," Hawkins says. "Five years ago, 60 percent of the death sentences that were appealed were overturned; today it's about 40 percent." Amendments that would have imposed the death penalty for over 30 crimes were removed from the omnibus crime bill (S.3266) passed by Congress in October. A provision that would have allowed death row inmates to use racial statistics in their appeals to show that sentencing courts were racially biased was also knocked out of the bill.

Number of Executions Since 1976
Top Ten States

Texas	37
Florida	24
Louisiana	19
Georgia	14
Virginia	10
Alabama	8
Nevada	5
Missouri	5
Mississippi	4
North Carolina	3

Source: NAACP Legal Defense And Education Fund, Capital Punishment Project, October 1990

Amnesty International, the Nobel Peace Prize winning human rights organization, condemns capital punishment universally and cites the United States as one of the few Western industrialized nations that still use it. Other countries that execute prisoners today include China, the Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and South Africa. ■

Mr. Ruffin is the editor of *Focus*.

After Croson

(Continued from page 4)

of "discouraged firms," that is, firms which would have been formed were it not for discriminatory barriers. It is important to measure discouraged firms in order to address an issue that Justice O'Connor raised in the *Croson* ruling, namely, whether or not minorities really want to be entrepreneurs (self-employed) in proportion to their representation in the local population.

Government efforts to increase access to business credit also need examining. Some researchers believe the Community Reinvestment Act would improve minority access to financial capital through bank loans if its provisions were better enforced. The Act is viewed as race-neutral because it requires banks to service all local financial capital needs, including those of low- and moderate-income neighborhoods. Its new provisions, under Section 1212 of the Financial Institutions Recovery, Reform and Enforcement Act, strengthen enforcement and establish a rating system for efforts by individual banks in this area.

In the wake of *Croson*, researchers, activists, and lawyers are aware of the challenges that must be met in justifying minority set-aside programs. Fact-finding disparity studies by state and local jurisdictions to provide statistical and anecdotal proof of discrimination continue. Since the courts have ruled on only a few cases, however, it is difficult to ascertain the extent and quantity of evidence needed. Nevertheless, there is a broad consensus that an agenda must be developed to help state and local governments tailor future set-aside programs in ways that meet *Croson* standards. ■

Black Businesses

(Continued from page 6)

1987, the number of those firms had more than tripled, increasing from approximately 2,600 to 8,000, to become the largest group in the services category.

Future Prospects for Growth

A healthy economy and effective set-aside programs at the federal, state, and local levels are two factors that will be critical in shaping future prospects for the growth of black-owned firms. The data from the Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises cannot be used directly to assess the effectiveness of set-aside programs. The survey does show, however, that black-owned firms made impressive gains in construction and business services, two areas where set-aside programs have contributed to black business expansion. Overall gains made by black businesses could be jeopardized by a recession and/or the failure of state and local jurisdictions to restructure their set-aide programs to make them consistent with the Supreme Court's new standards. ■

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Recession at Home, Bush Abroad

Over the year, President Bush has been involved in a whirlwind of high level global diplomacy. He summitted with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Helsinki and conferenced with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at Camp David. Then Bush responded to Saddam Hussein's guns of August by building an international coalition to isolate Iraq both economically and diplomatically. While keeping hands on the Gulf crisis, Bush flew to Paris to sign documents ending the Cold War, and he just completed a tour of Latin America.

Such, foreign policy matters have and still do require the President's personal attention, but one is prompted to ask: Who is minding the store at home? There's a crisis or two here in the U.S. demanding presidential leadership, not the least of which economists and policymakers are openly calling a recession. As unemployment rises and growth slows, there is little evidence that the President has a plan to address the problems of Americans who are losing their jobs and companies that are going bankrupt.

As the recession arrives with the onset of winter, the Bush administration must ensure that the poor receive necessary assistance during the tough times ahead. This shouldn't be like the David Stockman/Ronald Reagan "safety net" that never contained any identifiable programs to help low-income Americans. Rather, additional funding should be provided for programs like food stamps, nutrition for pregnant mothers and small children, emergency energy aid, and housing assistance.

George Bush is not alone among those in Washington from whom leadership is needed on domestic issues. As the members of the House and Senate prepare to convene a new Congress, it is hoped that the next session won't be a repeat of 1990, when 10 months of fruitless budget negotiations with the White House crowded out legislative action on a welter of important measures. The last Congress left town with a lot of unfinished business.

When Congress reconvenes in January, it should first of all reintroduce a strong bill to restore job discrimination victims' right to seek relief in the courts. Congressional leaders, who must find the vote to override a presidential veto, would be wise to call this a human resources or equal opportunity bill rather than a civil rights bill. As we saw in the reelection campaign of Senator Jesse Helms, opponents of this legislation contrued "civil rights" to mean blacks and quotas. Moreover, women and Hispanics, whose vital interests are also protected in this legislation, do not warm up to the "civil rights" label as enthusiastically as do blacks. However, all groups support equal opportunity as a vehicle for strengthening the nation's human resources capacity.

The Congressional Black Caucus has some work to do during the coming Congress. It's time for the Caucus to forward a bill that would grant state and local governments the authority to establish minority business set-asides. Such legislation, if passed by Congress, would reverse the Supreme Court's 1989 City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co. ruling which has resulted in the court-ordered or voluntary termination of dozens of set-aside programs.

. The issues and problems are there to be dealt with. What is required now is leadership--in the White House, in Congress, and in the black community. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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FOCUS

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Failing to Meet the Demand for Drug Treatment

A Survey of Treatment Facilities in 10 Major Cities Shows That Available Treatment Programs Are Grossly Inadequate to Handle the Rapid Growth of Cocaine Addition

by Katherine McFate

There were an estimated 109,792 cocaine addicts in Los Angeles in 1989 but only 5,909 publicly funded treatment slots. Baltimore, a city with some of the best treatment services in the country, had only 55 beds in treatment facilities for pregnant drug users. These situations are not unusual. As the number of cocaine addicts escalated over the past three years, cities have struggled to adapt their treatment systems to the new demand for services. A Joint Center survey of urban areas around the country shows a chronic shortage of treatment slots for hard-core abusers. Lack of funds, exacerbated by limited Medicaid reimbursement for treatment, undercuts the ability to offer these services to the poor.

Large urban areas have been particulary hard hit by the drug crisis. Senate Judiciary staff estimate that 854,000 cocaine addicts--a third of the nation's total--reside in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Washington, Houston, Atlanta, and New Orleans. These are the target cities of the Joint Center's newly formed Urban Anti-Drug Abuse Project.

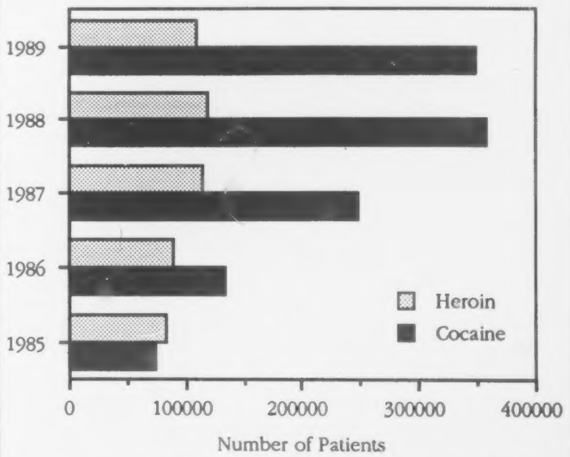
Data from a Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN) study, which examined nine of these cities, show that the rate of individuals testing positive for cocaine use during hospital emergency room visits grew five-fold between 1984 and 1989. In 1984, there were 76 cocaine mentions per 100,000 visits; by 1989, the figure had grown to 462. Despite a slight decrease between 1988 and 1989, the rate today is more than twice what it was three years ago (Figure 1). Moreover, two of every three arrestees in 1989 tested positive for cocaine in six of these cities.

The number of cocaine users who reported being *dependent* also ballooned with the drug's popularity. In 1984, about half of the patients involved in cocaine-related emergency room episodes in the 10 cities reported being dependent. By 1989 the figure had increased to three-quarters. (Figure 2).

A tremendous gap exists in these cities between the need for treatment programs (especially for cocaine addicts) and the services that are currently offered. Table 1 illustrates this. Many of the "publicly funded treatment slots" are methadone clinics for heroin addicts and therefore cannot provide appropriate services for the large and growing pool of cocaine users. Residential treatment of at least 28 days is generally considered necessary for chronic hard-core cocaine users, but the number of residential beds available is minuscule. In every city surveyed, waiting periods for residential treatment ranged from several weeks to nine months.

Of particular concern is the growing problem of pregnant addicts and addicted mothers. All the 10 cities studied had seen dramatic increases in the number of drug-exposed infants, an estimated 40,000 of whom were born in these cities last year alone. Between 30 and 50 percent of these infants went from the hospital ward directly into foster care. Despite the heavy burdens on child welfare agencies, foster care programs, and health systems created by these severely disadvantaged and often physically impaired children, few cities offer special treatment to pregnant co-

Figure 1. Emergency Room Patients Showing Evidence of Drug Use



Source: Drug Abuse Warning Network, 10 City Study

Ms. McFate is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.

(Continued on page 4)

Drugs

(Continued from page 3)

caine abusers (See Table 1).

In one recent study, only 15 of the 78 facilities claiming to serve pregnant addicts in New York City actually offered services to an interviewer who called claiming to be a poor, pregnant cocaine addict. Despite the fact that New York's health policy is to give pregnant addicts priority status in entering treatment, facilities were reluctant to deliver services because of limits on Medicaid reimbursements and fears of liability.

States vary tremendously in the level of funding they give to substance abuse services and in the kinds of treatment they allow Medicaid to reimburse (Table 2). New York and Maryland are on the high end of the funding scale; Texas is on the low end. There is very little reimbursement for outpatient care and virtually none for long-term care. Most public health officials believe changes in federal legislation will be required to obtain adequate funding for drug treatment under Medicaid.

Drug addiction among sexually active men and women has contributed to the general crisis of urban public health systems. All these cities have seen disturbing increases in venereal diseases, including a particularly virulent form of syphilis; this VD epidemic has been fueled by the widespread practice of trading sex for drugs. Between 1984 and 1988, diagnosed AIDS cases contracted by intravenous drug abusers (many of whom use cocaine) rose in these cities by 385 percent. In 1984, AIDS cases among intravenous drug abusers accounted for 26 percent of these cities AIDS cases; today they represent over 37 percent. In addition, over 42 percent of all American children suffering from AIDS live in these same 10 cities.

Failure to treat the addicted population will result in far more costly public health outlays in the future. The medical bill for one cocaine-exposed infant may be as high as $30,000 for delivery alone; when a severely impaired child is abandoned at the hospital, bills may reach $200,000. Foster care placements average between $5,000 and $6,000 a year. Preschool programs that successfully prepare drug-exposed children for school are costing up to $17,000 per

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Table 1. The Gap Between the Need for Drug Treatment and Available, Publicly Funded Services, 1989

	Estimated Number of Cocaine Addicts	Total Publicly Funded Treatment Slots	Total Publicly Funded Residential Beds	Treatment Options[c] for Women/Pregnant Women
Atlanta[a]	26,778	NA	1,721	One program
Baltimore	14,123	5,610	331	55 beds for women
Chicago	136,695	[132 facilities[b]]	[26 facilities[b]]	58 beds for women and children and 4 out-patient facilities
Detroit	40,977	2,664 (planned)	532 (planned)	74+ beds for women/100+ beds for pregnant women
Houston	38,577	1,479	59	NA
Los Angeles	109,792	5,909	866	8 outpatient sites for pregnant women; 7 residential sites; 4 drug-free outpatient programs for women and children
New Orleans	22,181	937	155	One halfway house for women and pregnant women
New York	385,917	40,218	5,026	140 programs for women/76 for pregnant women
Philadelphia	52,885	4,118	368	11 programs for women/One program for pregnant women
Washington	26,425	4,631	346	23 beds for women/10 beds for pregnant women

[a] Atlanta figures include both Fulton and Clayton counties.

[b] Illinois funds for treatment hours rather than treatment places or slots.

[c] Options specified for "women" may provide OBGYN services for pregnant women but are not designed specifically for pregnant women. Other treatment slots may provide services for both nonpregnant women and pregnant women but are not set aside for either group.

Sources: U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee; Joint Center phone survey.

November/December 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

THE 1990 ELECTION IN REVIEW

The November election ushered a new group of black elected officials into city halls and state offices across the country as well as into the U.S. House of Representatives. Twenty-six new black state legislators won election, the Congressional Black Caucus reached an all-time high in its membership, and important political milestones were reached for women both in and out of Congress. The political landscape on Capitol Hill has been altered a bit by the surprise victory of a black Connecticut Republican. And although racist appeals by white Republican candidates were still in evidence, overall the election demonstrated that black electoral progress remains on the ascendancy.

New High Water Marks in Congress

Five newly elected black legislators boost the membership of the Congressional Black Caucus to a historic high of 26. Three are women, all Democrats, raising the number of black congresswomen to four, and matching the contingent reached in the House during the 1970s. With the election of GARY FRANKS, Connecticut sends a black person to Capitol Hill for the first time. Franks is also the first black Republican voting member of the House since 1935. With retiring New Orleans Congresswoman LINDY BOGGS' replacement by WILLIAM JEFFERSON, all majority black congressional districts in the U.S. are held by blacks. Jefferson is Louisiana's first black congressman since CHARLES NASH served from 1875 to 1877 during the height of Reconstruction. The entering black members of the 102nd Congress are intelligent, experienced, politically savvy, and can be expected to hit the ground running. A brief review of their backgrounds follows:

Detroit Councilwoman **BARBARA-ROSE COLLINS**, 51, was elected to succeed retiring five-term incumbent **GEORGE CROCKETT**, who had distinguished himself as a crusading black labor lawyer and judge long before he came to Congress to represent Michigan's 13th Congressional District. A political ally of Detroit's Mayor **COLEMAN YOUNG**, Collins was formerly a three-term Michigan state representative.

Gary Franks, 37, elected to represent Connecticut's 5th Congressional District, will be the third black Republican to join the CBC. (The first two were Senator EDWARD BROOKE of Massachusetts who served from 1967 to 1979 and MELVIN EVANS, delegate from the Virgin Islands from 1979 to 1980.) A Yale graduate and real estate investor, Franks most recently served as a Waterbury city alderman. Should he wish to do so, Franks could serve as a bridge between the CBC and the Bush administration.

New Orleans Democrat William J. Jefferson, 43, a product of Southern University and Harvard Law School, will represent New Orleans in Louisiana's 2nd Congressional District. An attorney and former aide to U.S. Senator **BENNETT JOHNSON** (D-La.), Jefferson has served in the state senate since 1981, and chaired the Government Affairs and Finance Committee.

ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON, 53, has been elected to the seat formerly held by District of Columbia delegate **WALTER FAUNTROY**, who came to Congress in 1971 and was third in line to chair the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee. Fauntroy gave up his seat in Congress to run, unsuccessfully, for mayor of Washington, D.C. Norton, a graduate of Yale Law School, is a professor at the Georgetown University Law Center. A long-time civil rights advocate, she chaired the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during the Carter administration.

Los Angeles Assemblywoman **MAXINE WATERS** won the seat formerly occupied by California Congressman **AUGUSTUS HAWKINS**. The chair of the House Education and Labor Committee, Hawkins served in Congress since 1963 and was considered the dean of the Congressional Black Caucus. He will be succeeded by a woman who has developed a reputation as a political force both in California and across the nation. In California, Waters chaired the Democratic Caucus of the state Assembly. A member of the Democratic National Committee, she also played a prominent role in **JESSE JACKSON'S** 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns.

State and Local Victories

In addition to the five congressional victories, black candidates won significant mayoral and statewide posts. With the election of SHARON PRATT DIXON as its new mayor, Washington becomes the largest American city ever presided over by a black woman. An attorney and former utility company executive, Dixon has also served as treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. After her January 2 inauguration, she must tackle the District's $200 million deficit. Her campaign promise to fire 2,000 city officials in middle management positions may not be enough to do the job. Some of the hard choices she may consider include raising taxes which are already among the nation's highest, or urging Congress to raise the federal payment to the District. She might also reduce the city's police force, which a special commission chaired by former Congressional Budget Office director ALICE RIVLIN recently declared to be "bloated."

Voters in Oakland, California, chose state assemblyman **ELIHU HARRIS** over **WILSON RILES** in a November runoff for the office of mayor. Harris, a 12-year veteran of the Assembly, replaces LIONEL WILSON, the city's mayor for the past 13 years. Wilson was a candidate for reelection but got knocked out of the running in the June primary. Mayor-elect Harris will have his hands full dealing with the city's serious drug problem and its troubled education system, as well as completing reconstruction of the Cypress Freeway destroyed in last year's earthquake.

Black candidates rolled up significant victories in several statewide races as well. In Florida, voters retained Chief Justice **LEANDER SHAW** on the state's Supreme Court for another six-year term. Shaw was targeted for defeat by anti-abortion groups because of his vote with the court's majority to strike down a 1989 state law requiring parental consent for unmarried minors seeking abortions.

Significant Losses

Several black candidates went down to defeat including most of the Republican contenders. In North Carolina, the failed attempt by Charlotte's black former mayor **HARVEY GANTT** to unseat right-wing U.S. Senator **JESSE HELMS** was widely seen as a victory for the "Old South" and racial politics. Gantt campaigned on social and economic issues--jobs, education, and health care--aimed at a broad spectrum of North Carolina voters. But Helms' appeals to racial fears, including charges that civil rights laws diminish opportunities for whites, won the day.

Former undersecretary in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development J. KENNETH BLACKWELL was beaten by Cincinnati Mayor CHARLES LUKEN in a race for Ohio's 1st Congressional District. Luken is the son of retiring Congressman THOMAS LUKEN, who held the seat for 14 years. A former Cincinnati city councilman and one-time mayor of the city, Blackwell was seen going into the election as the black Republican with the best chance to win a congressional seat.

University of Vermont professor **DOLORES SANDOVAL** was defeated in her second bid for Vermont's at-large congressional post by independent candidate **BERNIE SANDERS**, a self-proclaimed socialist and former mayor of Burlington. Sandoval, who garnered only three percent of the vote, received practically no backing from the state Democratic party or its leaders because she advocates the conditional legalization of drugs and opposes the U.S. troop build-up in the Persian Gulf. Sandoval also argued that economic sanctions should be imposed against Israel until it agrees to participate in a U.N. conference to resolve the issue of the Palestinians and the occupied territories.

In Nebraska, black Deputy Attorney General **EUGENE "GENE" CRUMP**, 43, a Democrat, lost narrowly to **DON STENBERG** in an election for state attorney general. Despite the fact that Nebraska, with a black population of only three percent, has no history of electing black politicians to statewide or congressional office, Crump had been given a good chance of winning. He won the May Democratic primary by a convincing margin, and had gained endorsements from his current boss, Republican attorney general **ROBERT SPIRE**, from Democratic U.S. Senator BOB KERREY, and from several major newspapers.

Blacks and the GOP

Seventeen black Republicans ran for statewide and congressional posts, more than ever before. Many of them were part of an effort by the Republican party and the Bush administration to recruit and support black candidates and court black voters. **GEORGE BUSH** campaigned for both Gary Franks in Connecticut and Ken Blackwell in Cincinnati, and the Republican party provided financial backing for them and other candidates. Many of the other black Republican candidates were widely considered to be sacrificial lambs in elections against entrenched incumbent members of the Congressional Black Caucus and in statewide races where they had no real chance to win.

Franks was only one of two black GOP candidates to win a major office. The other was **J.C. WATTS**, elected to the powerful Oklahoma State Corporation Commission. The commission regulates public utilities, oil and gas drilling, and motor carrier transportation and other key industries. His victory makes him the highest ranking black statewide official in Oklahoma since statehood 83 years ago.

Despite the growth in the number of black GOP candidates this year, the Republican Party does not seem to be significantly expanding its support among black voters. The fact that Franks won in a district with only a four-percent black voting-age population, coupled with the poor showing of black Republicans in other races, means there is little movement on the part of black voters toward the Republican party. This is true despite the warm relationship that some Republicans in Congress (like Senators THAD COCHRAN of Mississippi and JOHN WARNER of Virginia) have nurtured with black voters in their states through responsive constituent services programs.

Playing the Race Card

According to many political observers, President Bush's veto of the 1990 Civil Rights Act went a long way toward alienating the black community and undoing the White House's earlier efforts to reach out to black voters. Moreover, Bush's frequent references to the Act as a "quota bill" were picked up by North Carolina's right-wing Senator Jesse Helms, who ran a brutish campaign of racial appeals and black voter intimidation in his successful reelection bid against former Charlotte mayor Harvey Gantt.

In North Carolina, the GOP resurrected the racially divisive "Willie Horton" campaign style. One Helms ad, noting that Gantt supported the Civil Rights Act, falsely characterized it as a measure that would replace qualified white workers with unqualified minorities. Unfortunately, many of North Carolina's white voters, especially in rural western regions, responded to those appeals. Helms also received a great deal of support among older voters who had been born and raised in the "Old South." Gantt, who received 47 percent of the vote overall, garnered only 35 percent of the white vote. Younger voters and voters who moved into the state during the past 10 years supported Gantt. The good news here is that this may presage a demographic shift in the state which could cause racist campaigns like Helms' to fail in the future.

The North Carolina Republican party also revived the practice of ballot intimidation, a technique that the Republican National Committee had promised not to pursue. In North Carolina, over 100,000 postcards mailed to predominantly black precincts falsely warned voters that they could not vote if they had moved within 30 days of the election, and cautioned them that giving inaccurate information to an election official was a crime punishable by up to five years in jail. As in the past, these so-called "ballot security" programs were directed at precincts with high concentrations of black voters by the GOP during the last two weeks of the campaign. In the final days of the campaign, a federal court judge obtained an agreement from the North Carolina Republican Party not to challenge any voters at the polls. By that time, however, the damage had already been done. The legacy of Bush's use of Willie Horton in 1988 and the racial nature of the Helms campaign raise a troublesome question for the future: Will the Republican Party continue to run on race when they smell a close victory or fear defeat?

1990 Election Results for Black Candidates to U.S. Congress and Statewide Seats

State	Office	Winner	%	Votes	Defeated	%	Votes
AK	Lt. Governor	*Jim "Guy" Tucker* (D)	74	(490,700)	Kenneth Harris (R)	26	(171,225)
CA	House, 8th	Ronald Dellums* (D)	62	(111,526)	*Barbara Galewski* (R)	38	(68,575)
	House, 28th	Julian Dixon* (D)	73	(64,849)	*George Adams* (R)	22	(19,339)
	House, 29th	Maxine Waters (D)	80	(48,769)	*Bill DeWitt* (R)	18	(11,186)
	House, 31st	Mervyn Dymally* (D)	68	(53,239)	*Eunice Sato* (R)	32	(25,488)
	House, 33rd	*David Dreier** (R)	63	(93,094)	Georgia H. Webb (D)	32	(46,619)
CT	House, 5th	Gary Franks (R)	52	(93,913)	*Toby Moffett* (D)	47	(85,525)
	State Treasurer	Francisco Borges (D)	51	(482,754)	*Joan Kemler* (R)	48	(452,918)
DC	Delegate to Congress	E. Holmes Norton (D)	62	(95,411)	Harry Singleton (R)	26	(40,077)
FL	State Supreme Court	Leander Shaw* (D)	60	(1,821,534)	[To retain office]		
GA	State Supreme Court	Robert Benhan			[Uncontested]		
	House, 5th	John Lewis* (D)	76	(86,037)	James Tibbs (R)	24	(27,781)
IL	State Attorney General	Roland Burris (D)	51	(1,621,078)	*Jim Ryan* (R)	49	(1,545,139)
	State Supreme Court	Charles Freeman (D)	61	(697,146)	*Robert Buckley* (R)	38	(428,585)
	House, 1st	Charles Hayes* (D)	94	(93,804)	Babette Peyton (R)	6	(6,152)
	House, 2nd	Gus Savage* (D)	78	(75,182)	*William Hespel* (R)	22	(21,219)
	House, 7th	Cardiss Collins* (D)	75	(58,245)	*Michael Dooley* (R)	25	(19,742)
KY	House, 3rd	*Romano Mazzoli* (D)*	61	(84,205)	Alphonso Brown (R)	39	(54,811)
LA	House, 2nd	William Jefferson (D)	52	(55,371)	Marc Morial (D)	48	(50,197)
MD	House, 7th	Kweisi Mfume* (D)	85	(58,092)	*Kenneth Kondner* (R)	15	(10,341)
MI	Secretary of State	Richard H. Austin* (D)	61	(1,506,977)	*Judy Miller* (R)	39	(962,431)
	House 1st	John Conyers* (D)	91	(76,510)	Raymond Shoulders (R)	9	(7,290)
	House, 13th	Barbara-Rose Collins (D)	83	(54,183)	Carl R. Edwards Sr. (R)	17	(11,139)
MS	House, 2nd	Mike Espy* (D)	84	(58,352)	Dorothy Benford (R)	16	(11,026)
	House, 4th	*Mike Parker* (D)*	80	(56,939)	Jerry Parks (R)	19	(13,665)
MO	House, 1st	William Clay Sr.* (D)	61	(62,547)	*Wayne Piotrowski* (R)	39	(40,157)
	House, 5th	Alan D. Wheat* (D)	62	(71,957)	*Robert Gardner* (R)	38	(43,980)
NE	State Attorney General	*Don Stenberg* (R)	53	(290,577)	Eugene Crump (D)	46	(251,518)
NJ	House, 10th	Donald M. Payne* (D)	82	(42,106)	*Howard Berkeley* (R)	18	(8,954)
NY	House, 6th	Floyd Flake* (D)	72	(43,665)	*William Sampol* (R)	23	(13,788)
	House, 11th	Edolphus Towns* (D)	93	(35,484)	Ernest Johnson (O)	4	(1,629)
	House, 12th	Major R. Owens* (D)	95	(39,494)	*Joseph Caesar* (O)	3	(1,090)
	House, 16th	Charles B. Rangel* (D)	97	(53,896)	*Alvaader Frazier* (O)	3	(1,514)
NC	Senate	*Jesse Helms** (R)	53	(1,088,331)	Harvey Gantt (D)	47	(981,573)
	State Court of Appeals	James A. Wynn (D)	51	(833,069)	AlllysonDuncan (R)	49	(792,113)
	State Court of Appeals	Clifton Johnson* (D)	54	(904,480)	*Carter Lambeth* (R)	46	(766,045)
OH	House, 1st	*Charles Luken* (D)	51	(82,992)	J. Kenneth Blackwell (R)	49	(79,807)
	State Supreme Court	*Craig Wright* (R)	46	(1,306,526)	Stephanie T. Jones (D)	44	(1,241,906)
	House, 2nd	*Willis Gradison* (R)*	64	(103,245)	Tyrone K. Yates (D)	36	(56,974)
	House, 21st	Louis Stokes* (D)	80	(102,076)	*Franklin Roski* (R)	20	(25,698)
OK	State Corp. Commission	J.C. Watts (R)	50	(439,981)	*James Townsend** (D)	42	(362,499)
PA	House, 1st	*Thomas Foglietta** (D)	79	(69,961)	James L. Jackson (R)	21	(18,491)
	House 2nd	William Gray* (D)	92	(90,977)	*Donald Bakove* (R)	8	(8,266)
RI	Secretary of State	*Kathleen Connell** (D)	72	(233,593)	Valerie Southern (R)	28	(89,367)
SC	Governor	*Carroll Campbell** (R)	71	(522,944)	Theo Mitchell (D)	29	(210,829)
TN	House, 9th	Harold E. Ford* (D)	65	(48,699)	*Alan Davis* (R)	35	(25,727)
TX	State Ct. of Criminal Appeals	Morris Overstreet (D)	51	(1,753,709)	Louis E. Sturns* (R)	49	(1,662,314)
	House, 18th	Craig Washington* (D)			[Uncontested]		
VT	House At-Large	*Bernie Sanders* (O)	56	(117,374)	Delores Sandoval (D)	3	(6,315)

Notes: Asterisks (*) indicate incumbents. Non-black candidates shown in *italics*. O designates other party affiliation. Numbers shown are results as of press time and may not be final figures.

Responding to Japanese Racism

The Joint Center Establishes a New Program to Address Tensions Between Black Americans and the Japanese

by Paige L. Cottingham

Like a phoenix, Japan has risen over the last quarter century from the ashes of World War II to become a major player in today's global market. In the United States, some politicians and corporate leaders have charged that Japan has succeeded at the expense of American businesses and their workers. Complaints that the Japanese use unfair trade practices are common.

While policy makers have focused on the trade imbalance, relations between the two countries have been further strained by racial tensions. Racist attitudes toward blacks and other American minority groups have recently been reflected in offensive statements made by Japanese officials and in equally offensive Japanese commercial products. In September, Japan's justice minister, Seiroku Kajiyama, likened the presence of prostitutes in a Tokyo business district to the presence of black Americans in white neighborhoods when he said, "it's like in America when neighborhoods become mixed because blacks move in and whites are forced out."

This was not the first time a high level Japanese official has directed a racial slur at blacks. In 1986, then Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said that blacks and Hispanics are the cause of America's lower intelligence scores, and in 1988, Liberal Democratic Party official Michio Watanabe implied that blacks do not repay their debts.

Japanese attitudes toward blacks are rooted in the country's history of Western contact. As early as the 16th century, Japanese encountered blacks as the slaves of Dutch and Portuguese traders. According to Harvard anthropologist John Russell, "With the importation of Western learning, Japanese acquired a taste not only for Western science but also for Western prejudices."

Black Americans remain agitated at ongoing Japanese racism. Many Japanese companies operating in the U.S. are being challenged in federal courts on anti-discrimination grounds. Japanese auto companies (Nissan, Honda, and Toyota) have been accused of deliberately building their U.S. plants at such a distance from black residential areas as to keep black potential autoworkers from seeking employment.

After Minister Kajiyama's offensive remarks, Joint Center President Eddie Williams wrote to President Bush and Japanese Ambassador Ryohei Murata asking them to urge the Japanese government to condemn Kajiyama's statement. Williams pointed out that America's strength is its diversity and that Kajiyama's words were an affront to all Americans. Ambassador Murata replied promptly, expressing his personal dismay over the incident, and assuring Williams that he shared his concerns and would communicate them to the Japanese government. Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and Kajiyama issued formal apologies to the American people and the Congressional Black Caucus in October. Absent, however, has been any formal statement of condemnation from President Bush.

The anger aroused among black Americans could have serious consequences for U.S.-Japan relations. A selective buying campaign targeting certain Japanese-made products, threatened by black business organizations, could deny Japanese manufacturers billions in auto and electronics sales. The Japanese may also be underestimating the clout of the 7,500 black elected officials in the United States, who could have an impact on Japanese interests.

Joint Center Responds

In January, the Joint Center initiated a 10-year, multifaceted program, the U.S.-Japan Project, to establish new links of communication and partnership between the Japanese and black Americans. With funding from the U.S.-Japan Foundation, the project is designed to help eliminate bias and improve relations. It will include five components: research, forums and briefings, fellowships, information dissemination, and people-to-people exchange.

In July, Joint Center President Eddie N. Williams visited Japan as the guest of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While there, he observed first-hand the crude characterizations of blacks visible throughout that country. Yet he also spoke with Japanese businessmen, scholars, and government officials, who were equally disturbed.

As a part of the project, the Joint Center held a seminar in October led by Professor Percy R. Luney, Jr., an expert in Japanese constitutional law at Duke University Law School and North Carolina Central University Law School. Luney stated that the Japanese have "passively accepted many of the prejudices of white Europeans and Americans who brought their anti-black bias to Japan."

The Joint Center recently conducted a national survey to elicit information about the attitudes of black Americans toward Japanese people. The findings, which will be released in early 1991, will help to shape future Joint Center forums, briefings, and papers focused on relations between black Americans and the Japanese people. ■

Ms. Cottingham is Coordinator of the U.S.-Japan Project and Special Counsel to the President of the Joint Center.

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Drugs

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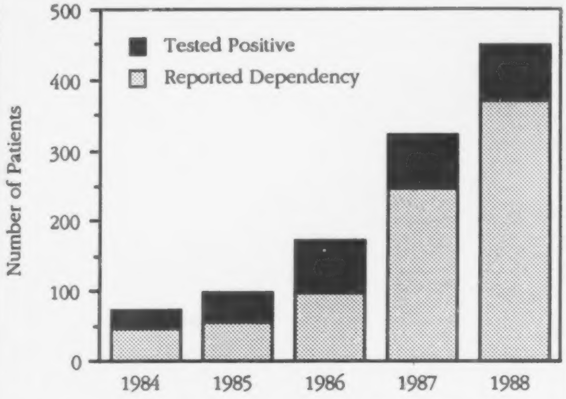
child. Medical and related care for each AIDS patient costs between $40,000 and $150,000, depending on how long the individual survives.

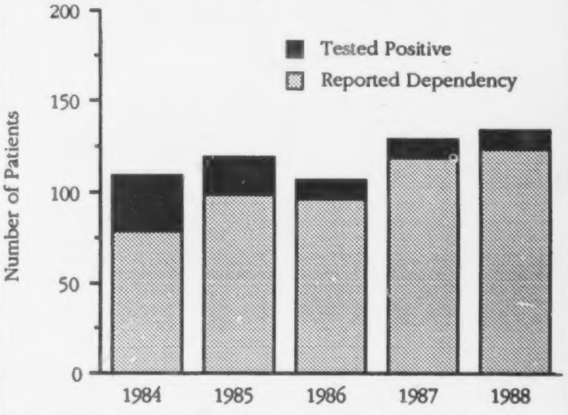
The problems facing the 10 cities discussed here are not unique. But the huge number of addicts and hard-core drug abusers within their borders set them on the front line of the national drug crisis. It is a crisis that not only affects the growing population of drug abusers, but is also contributing to the expansion of other urban problems--joblessness, child abuse, homelessness, and violence.

Figure 2. Emergency Room Patients Testing Positive for Cocaine Use Per 100,000 Visits



Source: Drug Abuse Warning Network, 10 City Study

Figure 3. Emergency Room Patients Testing Positive for Heroin Use Per 100,000 Visits



Source: Drug Abuse Warning Network, 10 City Study

As a part of its Urban Anti-Drug Abuse Project, the Joint Center brought together 45 senior urban policy makers from the ten target cities for a two-day-long conference in Philadelphia in October. Participants shared information on promising intervention programs in their own cities, and discussed ways to improve inter-agency collaboration in implementing citywide antidrug strategies. ■

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Growing Up With Less

Joint Center Study Finds the Growth of Households Headed by Women Is Only One of Many Causes for the Sharp Rise in Child Poverty Among Blacks

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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If Martin Luther King Were With Us Today

This month, we commemorate the birth of Martin Luther King, Jr., and reaffirm our commitment to his dream of brotherhood, peace, and a just society. From the time his struggle for civil rights and human dignity began during the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 to his death in Memphis in 1968, he achieved victories on many battlefields–public accommodations, voting rights, and equal employment opportunity among them.

In the 1950s and '60s, millions of black Americans remained disenfranchised by Jim Crow laws, and racism pervaded the nation. King's leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in nonviolent marches and civil disobedience actions helped achieve the passage of historic civil rights laws. Standing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, he stirred the soul of the nation with his dream of blacks and whites walking together. Millions of Americans, of all colors and from every walk of life, joined the struggle to secure civil and political rights and protections not just for blacks but for Hispanics, women, Asian-Americans, and American Indians as well.

If King were with us today, he would be pleased with some of our accomplishments since his death–the more than seven-fold increase in the number of black elected officials, the elections of L. Douglas Wilder as governor of Virginia and David Dinkins as mayor of New York, and the expansion of the black middle class.

Were King still alive, his moral and physical courage would once more be a powerful force on the stage of American life. He would no doubt continue his struggle to end poverty and war and to build a just social order. He would be appalled and distraught that a third of the nation's black population lives in poverty. He would chastise those who seek to turn back the clock on civil rights because he would understand that racism has by no means been conquered and so much remains to be done.

King would insist that our policymakers confront the problem of structural discrimination with all its social and economic implications. Structural discrimination creates a vicious cycle–you can't get a good job because you don't have a good education because you lived in a poor neighborhood because your family didn't earn enough money. This insidious form of discrimination is not only a product of racism, but it is also the result of flawed public policies, of inadequate investments in our human capital. King would challenge our leaders to help Americans find a way out of this vicious cycle. Just as he once dreamed of blacks and whites sitting down together at the table of brotherhood, his call today would be for blacks and whites to sit down together to construct public policies that could move us toward a more just and equitable society.

Not one to bite his tongue, however, King would impress upon his black brothers and sisters that they, too, have a responsibility for their own advancement. I suspect that he would remind us of what he said in the sixties: "It is not a sign of weakness, but a sign of high maturity, to rise to the level of self-criticism. By self-criticism I mean critical thinking about ourselves as a people and the course we have charted or failed to chart."

Even as we demand that the government and the private sector produce decent jobs so that we can sustain ourselves economically and maintain our human dignity, we must do some things for ourselves. Indeed we honor King best by recognizing that there is some of Martin Luther King's blood, spirit, and guts in each of us and by accepting our present-day responsibility to continue the struggle for a more just and peaceful world because we share his dream. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Multi-Party Democracy in Africa

Scholars and Activists at a Conference in Senegal Propose Ways to Strengthen Democracy in Africa

by Kim Mahling

Across Africa, movements promoting democratic reform, economic improvement, and greater adherence to human rights principles are gaining strength. While demands for such reform are nothing new, the difference today is that many African heads of state are actually heeding the call for greater competition in the political arena, albeit some more willingly than others.

When labor strikes and other protests rocked the Ivory Coast last spring, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, president of the normally peaceful and prosperous West African nation since its independence in 1960, finally agreed to legalize opposition parties. Multiparty elections for president were held on October 28, 1990. (Nevertheless, Houphouet-Boigny was reelected amid allegations of balloting irregularities.)

Zambian protests last June of President Kenneth Kaunda's decision to cut the government's subsidy of maize meal, a staple food, forced Kaunda to announce that multiparty parliamentary and presidential elections would be held in October 1991. Kaunda, who has led Zambia since its independence 26 years ago, has presided since 1973 over a one-party state.

These are good examples of the shifts occurring in some African nations, but such change is not universal. Leaders such as Daniel arap Moi, president of Kenya are successfully resisting calls for liberalization, while others, like Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe, have proposed turning back the clock to one-party rule. While a number of African leaders have agreed in principle to multiparty democracy and have established timetables and mechanisms to move ahead, there is no guarantee these leaders will continue on the same track.

A November conference in Dakar, Senegal, brought together more than 40 scholars, activists, journalists, and government officials to discuss the consolidation of pluralistic democracy in Africa. The participants came from 20 countries in Africa and Europe, as well as from the United States. Also in attendance were members of the international press corps, Senegalese government officials, and representatives of diplomatic missions. During the four-day meeting, they examined the current emergence of multiparty democracy in Africa and strategies for furthering such change on the continent.

The conference was sponsored by the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur la Democratie Pluraliste dans le Tiers Monde (the Center for Study and Research on Pluralistic Democracy in the Third World, or CERDET). Founded in 1986, CERDET is a nonprofit research center based in Dakar that studies political change in the Third World, particularly the development of competitive democratic processes. Funding for the conference was provided by the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy (NED) through a grant administered by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

The Failure of One-Party States

Jacques Mariel Nzouankeu, a professor at the University of Dakar in the School of Law and Economics and the director of CERDET, welcomed the participants to Dakar and outlined the conference mission. Milton Morris, vice president for research at the Joint Center, told the audience that "the Joint Center is engaged in the same struggle that occupies you and your respective organizations–that of facilitating the empowerment of our people."

NED President Carl Gershman commented on the democratic revolutions taking place across the world and on the high hopes he has for African nations. "Some think poverty in Africa is an argument against democracy, but it is not. It is an argument for democracy," said Gershman. "For if we have learned anything from the experiences of the past decade, it is that dictatorship, violence, civil war, and corruption are not conducive to stable economic and social development." Senegal's President Abdou Diouf spoke of the fundamental role the opposition plays in forming public opinion, promoting open debate, and acting as a counterweight of accountability.

In laying out the theoretical foundation for the conference, Jacques Nzouankeu reported that although the changes taking place in Africa have been accelerated by democratic movements in Eastern Europe, they remain rooted in the failure of Africa's own political systems. Nzouankeu sees events in Europe and Africa as linked in that "the attenuation of rivalries between the two superpowers has succeeded in dissuading certain countries from

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Democracy in Africa

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pursuing diplomatic blackmail..." Being anti-communist or anti-West is no longer enough to win financial support from one or the other superpower. The government of Mozambique acknowledged the failure of Marxism and the one-party state more than a year ago.

Nzouankeu believes Africa's emerging democratic pluralism is rooted in the failure of what he terms "consensual democracy" and the one-party system it leads to. He describes consensual democracy as functioning in such a way that there are no majority and minority opinions; rather, all decisions are to be unanimous. This unanimity, Nzouankeu said, "implies either perfect beings who are keenly aware of their rights and obligations, capable of distinguishing between individual and general interests, or persons without a will or freedom."

Some think poverty in Africa is an argument against democracy, but it is not. It is an argument for democracy.

Advocates reason that since consensus on policy is achieved through discussion and debates, there is no need for more than one party. In actuality, Nzouankeu argued, the one-party system has proved to be the major obstacle to national unity because "it imposes a monolithic ideology. . . concealing personal preferences under the cloak of lines of thinking and cliches claimed to reflect the will of the people."

Building Blocks of Change in Africa

Despite some limited successes at reform, the movement toward democracy faces an uphill battle in Africa. The conference focused on the many obstacles to overcome--religious and ethnic forces embedded in society, weak economies, and the lack of democratic institutions. In addition to these internal forces, external forces have also had an impact. Conference participants analyzed political, institutional, socioeconomic, and international factors affecting the development of multiparty democracy. Political and institutional factors include the lack of constitutional and other legal guarantees to pluralism. Political freedoms not presently available can be provided by rewriting and adhering to constitutions. Other topics touched on included allowances for a system of leadership succession and the virtues of an independent judiciary and a free press.

Sam Njuba, Uganda's minister of state for constitutional affairs, spoke on "The Constitutional Guarantees for Legal Pluralism." He detailed how a Constitutional Commission was established to rewrite Uganda's constitution to allow for a multiparty, democratic process through which citizens may choose their political leaders. He commented on the difference between such countries as the United States, where the constitution does not explicitly require more than one party, and Uganda, where such a constitutional guarantee is now deemed absolutely necessary.

Bona Malwal, editor-in-chief of the *Sudan Democratic Gazette*, a monthly newsletter on events in Sudan, briefly discussed the role the mass media play in promoting democracy. Malwal made the point that democracy does not increase power but limits it, and that the role of the media is to enforce those limits on the executive and legislative branches by exposing abuses.

Among the socioeconomic factors examined at the conference were education, economic development, the separation of religious institutions and the state, and the fostering of democratic values in the civil society.

John Holm, a professor of political science at Cleveland State University and an expert on democracy in Botswana, discussed the role civil society has played in strengthening multiparty democracy in that southern African nation. Holm reported that traditional, community-based, participatory institutions known as "kgotlas" have grown there over the years as forums for discussing development programs and government policy. Historically the kgotlas were used to build support for decisions by chiefs, and more recently by political leaders, but lately the opposition party, the Botswana National Front (BNF), has used the kgotla to promote and achieve its own agenda.

In addition, African nations cannot ignore the role external factors play in fostering or even preserving democracy. The conference examined Africa in light of its relations with the rest of the world, its connection to events in Eastern Europe, and its position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and regional conflicts.

Githu Muigai, a lecturer in the Department of Public Law at the University of Nairobi, spoke compellingly of the responsibility Africans bear to speak out on abuses in other African nations. He lamented the nearly three decades of indifference to human rights abuses throughout the continent. Muigai charged that African intellectuals have rationalized the abusive practices of non-democratic regimes in Africa, and he called for an end to such acquiescence. Having spoken out about inter-African relations, he went on to predict that change is inevitable in his own nation of Kenya and would come in a matter of months, not years, because citizens and public officials alike were finally beginning to challenge the non-democratic regime.

An Action Plan

On the final day of the conference, participants turned their attention to strategies for seizing the momentum for change and channeling it into action. They unanimously passed a resolution to establish an African Coordinating Committee of the Conference on Democracy. The committee's initial responsibility is to collect documents on democratic developments in Africa at the committee's sec-

(Continued on back page)

January 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside this issue:

- **The States not yet united in celebrating the birth of civil rights hero Martin Luther King, Jr.**
- **Japanese Justice minister Seiroku Kajiyama removed from post in wake of racist remarks**
- **Focus readers survey**

Three States Still Say No to King

Most of the nation is honoring the memory of Martin Luther King, Jr., with official birthday observances this month, but three states–Arizona, Montana, New Hampshire–are not. Supporters of the King holiday are still active in these states despite the failure of their efforts to date, and they hope eventually to persuade their legislatures to join the rest of the states and the federal government in declaring the third Monday in January an official state holiday. The King holiday became federal law in 1983. The first official federal observance was January 20, 1986.

Of the three states holding out, Arizona has received the most publicity. For four years Arizona has vacillated on this issue. In 1986, after its legislature failed to pass a bill establishing the holiday, then-governor **BRUCE BABBITT** established it himself by executive order. Babbitt's successor, conservative Republican Governor **EVAN MECHAM** (who was later impeached and removed from office for unrelated reasons) rescinded the order in 1987 as one of his first official acts. In 1989 the state legislature approved and Democratic Governor **ROSE MOFFORD** signed into law a King holiday, removing Columbus Day as a state paid holiday. Right-wing organizations and some Arizonans of Italian descent gathered enough petitions to place the King holiday issue on last November's ballot, making Arizona the only state to put the issue to a popular vote. The referendum was defeated by just over 1,700 votes.

The defeat touched off a nationwide wave of negative publicity for the state that continues to threaten major sources of revenue, such as conventions and tourism. Several organizations have boycotted Arizona as a convention site. According to the Phoenix and Valley of the Sun Convention and Visitors Bureau, five organizations have cancelled conventions or meetings to protest the King holiday defeat, including the National League of Cities and the Episcopal Church. Other groups are considering cancellation of Arizona convention plans and will render final decisions in the coming months.

Several college football teams declined invitations to the state's two major bowl games, the Fiesta and the Copper Bowl. National Football League (NFL) Commissioner **PAUL TAGLIABUE** has recommended to the NFL Owners Association that the 1993 Super Bowl, an estimated $300 million drawing card, be moved from Phoenix to another state. And the National Basketball Association says it will veto plans to host the 1994 All-Star Game in Phoenix, a loss to the state of another 50 to 75 million dollars.

There are signs, however, that Arizona may change its position on the holiday once and for all. The holiday is already official in 18 municipalities, including three of the largest cities, Phoenix, Tucson, and Tempe. The November referendum was approved in these cities, though it was defeated in Yuma and in many rural areas. **The narrow November defeat has given hope to Arizona's King holiday supporters and has fueled new efforts to make the holiday a reality. According to Reverend HENRY BARNWELL of Arizonans for King and GENE C. BLUE, chairman of the Arizona Martin Luther King Celebration, action on the matter is expected during the state legislature's current session. Under discussion are: a straightforward bill proposing an official state paid holiday; a bill proposing a "menu" system which would allow state employees to select days off from a list of state paid holidays, including the King birthday; and a bill that would combine Washington's and Lincoln's**

birthdays and establish a King/Civil Rights Day. The last two proposals are designed to placate opponents who argue that the cost of an 11th state paid holiday is too great. According to the state budget office, the cost of an additional day off would be approximately $500,000.

Tough Sledding in New Hampshire

In New Hampshire, 47 school districts and several cities, including Portsmouth, officially observe the King Day. The Manchester-based Martin Luther King Committee hopes the rest of the state will follow suit and encourage the state legislature to approve a King bill during this new session. The points of contention in New Hampshire are finances and Dr. King's popularity. New Hampshire is a fiscally conservative state that currently observes 10 official state holidays. Critics, including Republican Governor **JUDD GREGG**, oppose creation of a new holiday because of the new expenses the state would incur. The state's largest newspaper, the conservative ***Manchester Union Leader***, also opposes a King holiday, citing the civil rights leader's stance against the Vietnam War and false reports that he was a Marxist.

If legislative history is a fair guide, holiday supporters face an uphill battle. A king bill has been offered in the state legislature five times since 1979, according to **ARNIE ALPERT**, public relations chair for the Martin Luther King Committee. In the most recent effort (March 2, 1989) the bill was rejected in the House by a vote of 255-89, the worst defeat in the 10-year legislative drive. The Republican-dominated New Hampshire legislature had three black members at the time of that vote. One of them, Democrat JUANITA BELL from Portsmouth, has indicated she may introduce a King holiday bill this year. One Republican member, **JACQUELYN DOMAINGUE**, has offered a bill providing for a Civil Rights Day to replace a floating state holiday unique to New Hampshire called Fast Day that dates back to colonial times.

Says Alpert, "The issue here is not a holiday to honor a man but what he stood for and what he died for. That is the message we are trying to relay to New Hampshire citizens and legislators."

Sending a Message to the "Aryan Nation"

In Montana, State Senator **HARRY FRITZ** and the Montana Human Rights Network are leading the push for a King holiday. Fritz, who also teaches early American and Afro-American history at the University of Montana, first introduced a King holiday bill in 1987 when he was serving in the House. That measure was watered down in a House-Senate conference committee and ended up becoming "Heritage Day," a floating holiday that can be randomly appointed each year at the governor's discretion.

Fritz will introduce a bill to repeal Heritage Day and establish a King holiday this legislative session. The Montana Human Rights Network has made a King holiday its top priority this year and promises to lobby strongly for Fritz's bill. Similar organizations in neighboring Idaho were instrumental in winning passage of their state's King holiday in 1986. **Groups supporting the holiday in both states are part of the Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment, which originated in Idaho as a community reaction to white supremacist groups like the Aryan Nation and the Neo Nazis that are active in the Northwest.**

WILBUR REHMANN of the Montana Human Rights Network views the founding of a King holiday as an important step in the ongoing fight against the hate groups. "Montana will not become a haven of white supremacists. We want to send a national message that racism is not tolerated in this state," said Rehmann. "King best exemplifies the principles this country was founded on."

Kaifu Sacks Kajiyama

Following months of protests in Japan and throughout the world against Japan's Justice Minister SEIROKU KAJIYAMA'S racist remarks about black Americans, on December 29, Prime Minister TOSHIKI KAIFU removed Kajiyama from his post in a cabinate reshuffle. Although Kajiyama was stripped of his powerful position, Kaifu has made him chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party's legislative affairs committee. Last September, Kajiyama compared the presence of prostitutes in a Tokyo business district to integration when he said, "it's like in America when neighborhoods become mixed because blacks move in and whites are forced out." Joint Center President EDDIE N. WILLIAMS responded by writing letters of protest to President GEORGE BUSH and Japan's Ambassador RYOHEI MURATA.

Focus Survey Questionnaire

For 18 years now, Focus magazine has presented issues to you that we believe are important, spanning the globe and the alphabet, from affirmative action and apartheid to voting rights.

Now it's your turn.

We'd like to know what you think about Focus and the topics we cover--as well as the ones we don't cover but should. We want your views on some of the issues that are currently in the public spotlight.

Please take three or four minutes to circle your answers to this survey and drop it in the mail to us postage free. Your answers will help Focus stay close to the issues that concern you.

1) What type of organization do you work in? (circle more than one if necessary)

a. research
b. educational
c. government
d. civil rights
e. business
f. law
g. media/press
h. health care
i. community organization
j. religious
k. other ______________________________

2) What type of position do you hold?

a. manager/director
b. professional/technical
c. administrative
d. elected government official
e. appointed government official
f. community service provider
g. entrepreneur
h. student
i. other ______________________________

3) What is your party affiliation?

a. Democrat
b. Republican
c. other ______________________________

4) How long have you been a *Focus* reader?

a. less than a year
b. one to five years
c. more than five years

5) Do others in your office/home read your copy of *Focus*?

a. yes
b. no

6) How often do you read *Focus*?

a. every issue
b. frequently
b. occasionally

7) How effective is *Focus* as a contributor to the national debate over public policy?

a. very effective
b. somewhat effective
c. not at all
d. no opinion

8) What is your favorite *Focus* section?

a. feature articles
b. TrendLetter
c. Perspective

9) What would you like to see added or expanded in *Focus*? (circle more than one if necessary)

a. analysis
b. hard data
c. interviews
d. opinion
e. profiles of major personalities
f. letters from readers
g. other ______________________________

10) Which subjects would you like to read more about in *Focus*?

a. politics
b. economics/business
c. education
d. poverty
e. crime and drug policy
f. civil rights/race relations
g. international relations
h. miliatry policy
i. immigration
j. health
k. other ______________________________

11) Name the three most pressing problems facing American society.

1. ______________________________
2. ______________________________
3. ______________________________

12) How would you describe race relations in your community?

a. excellent
b. good
c. only fair
d. poor

13) Was racism a factor in the recent elections in your municipality, county, or state?

a. yes
b. no
c. not sure

14) Do you believe that school curriculums adequately reflect the role and contributions of black Americans in this society?

a. yes
b. no
c. no opinion

15) If you have children in elementary or secondary school, do they attend:

a. public school
b. parochial school
c. non-parochial private school

16) If you have children in college, do they attend a predominantly black institution?

a. yes
b. no

17) Is affirmative action a useful tool for achieving equal opportunity for black Americans?
- a. yes
- b. no
- c. no opinion

18) Are you economically better or worse off than you were three years ago?
- a. much better
- b. somewhat better
- c. about the same
- d. somewhat worse
- e. much worse

19) Do you support the death penalty?
- a. yes
- b. no
- c. no opinion

20) Do you support a ban on private ownership of:
- a. hand guns
- b. rifles of military design
- c. all firearms
- d. no restrictions on ownership
- e. no opinion

21) Do you believe that either major party will nominate a black person for president or vice president before the end of this century?
- a. yes (Designate party: Democrat Republican?)
- b. no
- c. no opinion

22) What is your annual household income?
- a. less than $25,000
- b. $25,000 to $50,000
- c. $50,000 to $75,000
- d. $75,000 or more

23) What is the highest level of education you've achieved?
- a. some high school
- b. high school diploma
- c. some college
- d. college degree
- e. postgraduate degree

24) What is your racial/ethnic identification?

____

25) What is your gender?
- a. male
- b. female

26) What is your year of birth?

____

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Windy City's Controversial Third Party

Originally Created to Offer Black Chicagoans a Political Alternative, the Harold Washington Party May Not Be What It Seems

by Odessa Maria Archibald

"The Harold Washington Party arose out of the disenchantment with the Democratic party which has taken the African-American vote for granted because they perceive that we have no alternative, no place else to go." Those are the words of Chicagoan R. Eugene Pincham, Sr., a retired state appellate court judge and former Democrat, referring to his recent affiliation with the city's new black political organization, the Harold Washington Party (HWP).

Formed in 1989 and named after the city's first black mayor, the party's initial goal was to field black Alderman Timothy Evans as a candidate in the 1989 special mayoral election, to fill the seat left vacant by the death of Mayor Washington on November 25, 1987. Twice elected to Congress, Washington was in the vanguard of Democrats who operate independently of the party's powerful machine controlled by the late mayor Richard J. Daley. In April 1983, with a groundswell of support from the city's black, Latino, and liberal white voters, Washington became Chicago's first black mayor. He was reelected in April 1987.

Evans, an alderman for the city's fourth ward since 1973, finished second in the 1989 special election with 41 percent of the vote. The winner, with 55 percent, was Richard M. Daley, son of the late mayor and Democratic machine boss. Party officials point to Evans' significant showing as a mandate for the HWP's continued existence. Founding HWP member and current party chairman David Reed says, "We received a clear mandate from our community that they were ready to break from the Democratic party and establish a third party in Chicago."

However, radio station co-owner Wesley South says, "They (HWP) have some legitimate complaints about the Democratic party, but it's not like it has been in the past. We [black Democrats] are growing. We have clout. We have six state senators and 18 aldermen, a far cry from 20 years ago." Says Jacky Grimshaw, a former top aide to Washington, "Harold Washington was for African-American empowerment, but not as a separatist or with a separate political base."

The new party's leaders explained that the HWP has remained in existence because it provides a viable alternative for black voters discontented with the Windy City's politics as usual. Espousing a platform of neighborhood reform and political and economic empowerment, the new party exists, according to Reed, to meet the real needs of the community and to provide black political hopefuls with an enthusiastic campaign vehicle. HWP leaders contend that the Democratic Party has catered to downtown business interests and has erected a "glass ceiling" which prevents blacks from advancing to the party's upper echelons.

The HWP's mandate was put to the test this past November. After a battle for a place on the ballot that began with the Cook County Board of Elections and ended in a successful suit before the U.S. Supreme Court, the party ran a slate of 17 candidates for city and countywide offices, including sheriff, county commissioners, and state's attorney for Chicago.

The Cook County Board of Elections had ruled in August that the party was eligible for ballot status, but the ruling was struck down in September by the Cook County Circuit Court, which cited the party's failure both to secure enough names from suburban Cook County on the nominating petition and to file a full judicial slate. The state supreme court upheld that decision. The matter finally ended in the U.S. Supreme Court where Justice John Paul Stevens overturned the state supreme court decision and allowed the party's full slate to appear on last November's ballot. Stevens' judgement was rendered 12 days before the election. Pincham charges that the court challenge to the HWP slate was "a covert, clandestine effort of the Democratic party to keep the HWP off the ballot."

Challenging the Democratic Machine

While the HWP prevailed in the courts, it was unable in 1990 to draw many voters to its cause or its candidates. None of the party's nominees won in the November elections. The party received 1.2 percent straight-party votes and 14 percent split-ticket votes. Overall turnout was estimated at 53 percent, and turnout in the black communities at 35 percent. About 3.1 percent of the votes in suburban Cook County went to HWP. Of its 17 nominees, sheriff candidate Tommy Brewer and Cook County Board of Commissioners candidate Barbara Norman received the most votes. Brewer, an Evanston attorney and political newcomer, received 19.4 percent of the tally and Norman, a hospital administrator and medical consultant, received 18 percent. Judge Pincham, who was a candidate for the Cook County Board of Commissioners, received only three percent, although he was the HWP candidate with the

(Continued on page 6)

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HW Party

(Continued from page 5)

greatest name recognition.

While the numbers weren't big and black voter turnout was low, many observers say the party's challenge to the long-standing Chicago tradition of straight-ticket voting was important. "There were enough split tickets and HWP ballots to make straight party voting a dead letter. From that perspective, the black community helped drive home the point that straight party voting is untenable," says Robert Starks, a political science professor at Chicago's Northeastern Illinois University.

Lu Palmer, a political activist and radio talk-show host who played a key role in Washington's first mayoral bid in 1983, says the vote the HWP received "indicates that the Democrats have serious problems in the black community. Ticket splitting is very unusual for blacks in Chicago." Party co-chair Jim Hutchinson adds, "We have challenged the arrogance of a party that has taken us for granted and a party that has totally ignored us."

Does HWP Help or Hinder?

Although many agree that the city's black community needs an alternative political voice, there is no consensus regarding the solution. Does the HWP help or hinder the black community's pursuit of empowerment? "There is a lot of frustration in some parts of the black community in terms of local politics, a desire to have an institution other than the Democratic party," says University of Chicago political scientist Gary Orfield. "But on the other hand there is a concern that the Republican party may be strengthened by the existence of a third party."

Other observers have bluntly charged that the party may be a Republican tool to split the Democratic party and divide the black vote. They substantiate such claims by pointing to Reed and Hutchinson's past employment as aides to former Republican governor Richard Ogilvie (1969 to 1973) when Ogilvie was president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners from 1966 to 1969.

These skeptics also point to Reed's unsuccessful bid in 1968 as a Republican for the first district congressional seat, then held by black Democrat William Dawson. During the 1990 general election, the Chicago *Sun Times* published reports that HWP members approached the Republican party for financial support. Illinois' Republican Governor Jim Edgar, elected in November with HWP endorsement, acknowledged during the campaign that he had been approached by the HWP for contributions.

Alderman Bobby Rush, one of the original party organizers and political director to Evans during the mayoral campaign, says, "The party was originally organized as a principle of black empowerment, a vehicle for Evans to run for mayor. The current HWP is stripped of all its principle and meaning. Its only purpose at this point is to divide the black community and strengthen the Republican party." Rush represents the city's second ward and is a deputy Democratic committeeman. He was formerly involved in the effort to establish the Black Panthers as a third party.

Responding to criticism that the HWP is a political spoiler that will dilute black voting strength, Reed responds, "Those who raise that issue have determined that they have something to lose by the existence of a third party. Division from the Democratic party is healthy if the third party is fielding qualified, credible candidates. The fertile soil exists for us. We are going to be an institution. We have planted the seeds for an institution." Palmer adds, "We do need to cut the umbilical cord in our community to the Democratic party."

Skeptics also suggest that the HWP is a platform for political opportunists seeking a power base. "The current leadership in the HWP are folks who were on the fringes of the Tim Evans campaign, saw the opportunity for leadership and stayed with the HWP," says Alderman Rush. Some observers charge that Judge Pincham left the Democratic party and joined the HWP last summer out of anger over losing the Democratic nomination for president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners to Richard Phelan, who was later elected to the post.

Others suggest that Tim Evans' mayoral candidacy on the 1989 HWP ticket was a marriage of convenience. They point out that although he has not formally disassociated himself from the party, Evans maintained a low profile during the HWP's efforts in the November 1990 election cycle and he still serves as a party committeeman.

According to Palmer: "The Harold Washington Party that fielded candidates in November 1990 is not theoretically the same party that ran Evans for mayor in 1989. After the Evans campaign, the party was dormant and many efforts were made to get it motivated. But folks laid low, so a group began to meet to develop something out of HWP. The current party is the [HWP Chairman] David Reed version."

Finally, there are questions about the party's timing and purpose. The city's regular mayoral election will be held this year, and black leaders have expressed a desire to elect a black mayor. Democratic Congressman Gus Savage of Chicago convened a meeting of black leaders in December, and they have selected former alderman and newly elected county commissioner Danny Davis as the black mayoral candidate. Davis was a close ally of Harold Washington. Davis, Daley, and former mayor Jane Byrne have all filed as candidates for the February 26 mayoral primary.

Reed says the HWP will probably support Davis during the primary but has not ruled out running an HWP candidate in the April 2 general election. Black Democrats fear that such a third party candidacy could divide the black community and weaken the chances of Davis or any other black candidate. If that happens, City Hall is likely either to remain in the hands of Daley or return to Jane Byrne. ■

Drug Report Coming

The Joint Center will soon release a report on its Urban Anti-Drug Project focusing on drug abuse trends and approaches to treatment in 10 major American cities.

Growing Up With Less

Growth of Households Headed by Women Is Only One of Many Causes for the Sharp Rise in Black Child Poverty

by Marc DeFrancis

The broad economic forces that have buffeted younger black families of all types over the last 15 years may be blamed for the rising poverty of black children at least as much as the more often noted rise in female-headed families. The dawning recession therefore confronts these children with a serious new threat. Sociologist Cynthia Rexroat recently discussed these and other findings of her research at a Joint Center conference held in December. Formerly a research associate at the Center, Rexroat is now assistant professor of sociology at Clemson University in South Carolina. The full results of her study, which examines black child poverty from 1960 to 1985, will be published as a Joint Center monograph next spring.

The Face of Poverty Today. In opening the December 10 conference, Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center, observed that "increasingly, the face of poverty in America is the face of a black child." Indeed, as of 1984, 46.5 percent of all black children were living below the poverty threshold.

According to Rexroat, the worsening of poverty during the 1980s was a continuation of what had begun in the 1970s as manufacturing declined. "The recession of 1981-82 and the policies of the Reagan administration together gave child poverty a further push in the wrong direction," she says. Among black children the tumble was severe: though their poverty rate had dropped 4.5 percentage points between 1969 and 1979, by 1984 this progress had been wiped out by a subsequent 8.6 point rise in poverty.

The public well knows that a rising proportion of black children live in families that are not headed by couples. Between 1960 and 1985, these children grew from 25 to 50 percent of all black children. Yet while people tend to think this has been caused by an increase in out-of-wedlock births, in reality such births have declined steadily among black women since 1970.

The dramatic rise in fatherless black households, Rexroat says, stems from many causes. As is true among whites, black women have begun to marry later and to have fewer children when they do, and their rates of divorce and separation have also quickened. These and other changes have meant that that among all black children, those in female-headed families are making up a growing proportion of the total.

The North vs. the South. The economic "expansion" of the 1980s seems to have done nothing to alleviate the poverty of those who work, while in some regions unemployment itself has worsened. Over the last 15 years, layoffs and plant shutdowns have continued in the Rust Belt. Entry-level blue-collar employment for young workers has all but disappeared there. Rexroat cites Indianapolis as emblematic of this decline: between 1969 and 1979 roughly 50 percent of the children of "working poor" families in Indianapolis slipped into dependence on public assistance. (For this study Rexroat defines the "dependent poor" as those for whom public assistance makes up 50 percent or more of their total income, and the "working poor" as those who are in poverty even though 50 percent or more of their income is from wages.)

In the Southern states the pattern of work and poverty has been very different. Lured by cheap labor, low state and local taxes, and an anti-union environment, since the 1970s many firms have folded their Northern plants and moved South. This trend, combined with the fact that welfare qualifications have been much more restrictive than in the North, may help explain why in the South working poor families (41 percent of the region's black children) far outnumbered the dependent poor (13 percent) in 1984. By contrast, in the Northeast that year dependent poor families (31 percent) far outnumbered the working poor (22 percent).

The tightening of welfare eligibility and the reduction in benefit levels in the early 1980s rubbed salt in the wounds caused by the economy. Rexroat recalls the damage wrought by a federal law passed in 1981, which established heavy penalties for states that allowed ineligible women to slip through the screening procedure. "As a result," she says, "state case workers became overcautious, and in the end denied benefits to many eligible families. This happened nationwide."

Immediate prospects for improving welfare policy are slim. Federal reform legislation passed in 1988 is already proving too costly for strapped state budgets. "Moreover," Rexroat says, "the current recession, like earlier ones, will only make things worse. I'm afraid what SCLC President Joseph Lowery once said is still true: 'When America catches a cold, the black community gets pneumonia.'"

A summary of Rexroat's findings in booklet form is available from the Joint Center. ■

Mr. DeFrancis is senior editor at the Joint Center.

Democracy in Africa

(Continued from page 4)

retariat, temporarily located at CERDET's offices in Dakar. Nzouankeu sees this collection as the beginning of a center where researchers can analyze moves toward multiparty democracy in Africa and the Third World and use that research to promote further change. In addition, the committee will facilitate networking among African democrats.

CERDET is building the continent-wide committee from the bottom up. As the first stage, conference participants will recruit other interested persons in their own countries to form national sections, which will formally meet and elect national vice presidents. Vice presidents, in turn, will meet by regions and elect a president.

While there is cause to be encouraged by the changes that have taken place in Africa, continued progress will require stepped-up pressure from within Africa and also from nations such as the United States. African heads of state are not likely to share power voluntarily. Rather, inducements and pressure will be needed to limit their authority. The United States and other nations can pressure governments diplomatically, and even reduce foreign aid unless change occurs. Within Africa, centers such as CERDET and the African Coordinating Committee for the Conference on Democracy will be vital in promoting and assisting in the transition process. Ultimately, however, it is the African people themselves and reform groups within the African states who must be the engine for change. ■

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Robert E. Allen, chairman and CEO of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, and Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center, invite you to our 14th annual dinner on Tuesday, April 9, 1991. The dinner will be held at the Washington Hilton Hotel here in the nation's capital. Mr. Allen is this year's national dinner chairman.

The dinner, which is the Joint Center's only fundraising event, provides significant support for our research and outreach programs. Chairman's Circle, $10,000; Sponsors', $5,000; Patrons', $3,000. Individual tickets are also available for $300 each. For reservations or further information please call Alfreda Edwards at (202)-625-3555.

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PERSPECTIVE

The Mainstreaming of Black Politics

In 1973, Tom Bradley was elected mayor of Los Angeles, a city whose black voters represent less than 20 percent of the population. Since his first election, Mayor Bradley has become the contemporary role model for a new breed of black elected official whose base is in the black community but who can also win the support of whites, Latinos, Asian Americans, Jews, and other segments of our diverse society.

Just as a quarter century ago, when the cutting edge of the civil rights movement shifted from protest to politics, we are now witnessing an equally momentous change—the mainstreaming of black politics in America. After decades of painstaking organizing, blacks are now building coalitions across racial lines, winning public offices in predominantly white jurisdictions, and capturing leadership positions that can influence the full spectrum of public policies from civil rights and human services to economics, foreign policy, and national security.

As this dramatic evolutionary process unfolds, there are three generalizations that can be drawn about the emerging black politics. First, it is a politics of inclusion, a politics that reaches across the barriers of race, ethnicity, and color that has been characterized by the campaigns of Virginia Governor L. Douglas Wilder and Mayors David Dinkins of New York, Norman Rice of Seattle, and John Daniels of New Haven.

The second generalization about the new black politics is that it differs in tone and temper from the politics of the sixties. Today, there is room for honest disagreement and principled compromise on policy issues. And priorities are now pursued not only with appeals to conscience but also with appeals to enlightened self-interest. Third, the emerging black politics is increasingly the politics of a new generation. When the Voting Rights Act was passed in 1965, for example, Congressmen Mike Espy of Mississippi and Alan Wheat of Missouri were adolescents.

While the emerging black politics remains oriented to the historic conflicts between blacks and whites, it is also responsive to the changing relationships among the varied hues of our increasingly multi-ethnic society. Understandably, this new generation of leadership will have a different style, a different vocabulary, and even different priorities from the generations that preceded it.

Today, black politicians are challenged to show the same cultural sensitivity to other minorities that we ask them and white politicians to show to us. Reaching out to other minorities means that blacks must make an effort to speak their language—in policy terms to be sure, but sometimes even literally, especially in states like California, Florida, and Texas. Thus, new political styles and pragmatic coalitions are needed to achieve mutual goals in the era of multiracial and multicultural politics.

There is no reason to fear, however, that these trends will amount to the death of black politics. As Governor Wilder said in his criticism of President Bush's veto of the Civil Rights Act, "crossover politics" most certainly need not mean abandoning the black community. Furthermore, the inalienable right to protest need never be sacrificed to the expediencies of politics. We haven't forfeited the right to picket the city halls of New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, or Detroit. Yes, we can still fight city hall—even when one of our own is sitting in the mayor's chair!

In short, what we see on the horizon is not the death of black politics but its growth and maturation. The question for the future is not only whether black political leaders will seek to appeal to the larger society, but also how the larger society will respond. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The Roots of Pan-Africanism

First in a Series of Historical Articles on the Relationship Between Black Americans and Africa

by Walter C. Carrington

"What is Africa to me...three centuries removed from the scenes his fathers loved?" the poet Countee Cullen asked in his most popular work, "Heritage". Cullen, a leading light of the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s, offered a romantic response conjuring up an Eden lost. The search for a more pragmatic answer has continued from the arrival of the first slaves upon these shores in 1619.

Much has been written about the long struggle of American blacks to achieve first class citizenship in the United States. Less has been written and understood about the parallel endeavors to rationalize the African heritage with the American inheritance. W.E.B. DuBois set forth the dilemma in 1903: "One ever feels his two-ness–an American and a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body...."

At times of deepest despair over their future in America, many blacks followed those who argued, as did Martin Delany in the mid 19th century, that African-Americans were a "broken nation" who could only be made whole again by separating from their white oppressors. Unwelcome in white churches, blacks formed their own denominations as early as 1793 and christened them African. Early on, these new black churches saw their relationship with Africa primarily in terms of helping to Christianize their "heathen" brethren in Africa; by the late 19th century, however, black churches began to champion the grievances Africans held against their colonial exploitation.

American blacks took the lead in protesting Belgian atrocities in the Congo and French and German designs on Liberia. Along with blacks in other parts of the African diaspora, they formed the Pan-African Movement and saved the German colonies from being swallowed up by the victorious Allied Powers at the end of World War I. America's black colleges educated generations of African leaders, from the founders of the African National Congress to the first heads of state of Ghana, Malawi and Nigeria.

In contemporary times blacks moved the American government away from complicity with the apartheid regime in South Africa and towards greater relief to the drought stricken Sahel and Horn regions of the continent. The impetus towards an African identification, which had been elite driven in the 19th century, had become, by the end of the 20th, more and more sparked by the rank and file.

"Back-To-Africa" and Black Nationalism

In the pre-Civil War period many black and white abolitionists questioned whether the black man, bond or free, had a future in the United States. White foes of slavery organized the American Colonization Society (ACS) in 1816 and, through the armed intervention of naval officers, forced West African coastal chiefs to sell them land on which to repatriate freed blacks to a new homeland, to be called Liberia. The colonization scheme was highly controversial from its inception. The ACS was regarded, even by many blacks who favored a return to Africa, as a subterfuge by paternalistic whites to evade, rather than solve, the race question in America.

Those free blacks most pessimistic about their future in America sought a solution in emigration back to Africa. Those who felt that blacks had as much a claim upon this country as whites saw emigration as a shunning of their major responsibility—the freeing of their brothers in bondage. Thus was joined the intellectual argument that has raged ever since: was identification with Africa a diversion from the central issue of the black man's role in America or a complement to it?

Paul Cuffe was among the first blacks to organize a return to Africa. In 1815, seven years before the American Colonization Society's settlement of Liberia, he outfitted one of his ships from his own funds, which he had accumulated as a shipbuilder, and underwrote the costs of transporting nine families to Sierra Leone. So popular was Cuffe's first venture that he had a waiting list of over 2,000 for his second; but Cuffe died before he could transport another group. It would be nearly 40 years before strong black leadership again emerged to promote a back-to-Africa movement. In the meantime, free blacks focused on bettering their condition in the United States through the Negro Convention Movement, which first met in 1830 and for the next two decades was the dominant forum through which free blacks pressed their demands for civil rights. The Movement held conventions throughout the North and passed resolutions for black advancement, but it gave no support to those who argued that progress could better be realized outside America. However, as pessimism deepened concerning whether slavery would ever be abolished or former slaves become part of the American polity, advocates of emigration began to gain support.

The most prominent spokesman for emigration was an 1852 Harvard college medical graduate who claimed de-

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Walter C. Carrington, a consultant on international affairs at the Joint Center, is a former United States ambassador to Senegal.

Africa

(Continued from page 3)

scent from the Mandinka royalty of West Africa--Dr. Martin R. Delany. It is to him that the origins of the black nationalist strain in American intellectual thought can be traced. In an age when black was considered anything but beautiful, Delany preached race pride. Frederick Douglass said of him: "I have always thanked God for making me a man, but Martin Delany always thanked God for making him a black man."

Central to Delany's thought was the belief that blacks formed a nation within a nation, "a broken nation," as did the Poles in Russia, the Hungarians in Austria, and the Welsh, Irish, and Scots in Britain. "The claims of no people are respected by any nation, until they are presented in a national capacity," he argued.

Delany disparaged the Liberian experiment of the American Colonization Society, dismissing it as "not independent--but a poor mockery--a burlesque on government." He wished instead to see a great state built in Africa, "a nation, to whom all the world must pay commercial tribute." Towards that end he led an exploring party to Nigeria in 1859, sailing aboard a ship owned by three African merchants. His one-year stay resulted in the signing of treaties in Nigeria with the king of the Egbas, giving American blacks the right to settle in their territory. The agreements were never followed up because the Civil War broke out just as Delany returned to the United States. He put aside his emigration schemes and joined the Union Army as a brevet major; he was first assigned to recruit blacks and later was commissioned into the Army Medical Corps. After the war Delaney worked in Reconstruction agencies. In 1874, he tried electoral politics, losing as a Republican candidate for governor of South Carolina.

The Missionary Imperative

The abolition of slavery and the Fourteenth Amendment's grant of citizenship gave hope that there might be a future for blacks in this country after all and put to rest for half a century any major efforts to return to Africa. The words of the pre-eminent black abolitionist and former slave Frederick Douglass, spoken before Emancipation, became the credo of the newly freed slaves: "Our minds are made up to live here if we can, or die here if we must . . . here we are and here we shall remain."

While colonization and emigration strategies were generated by concern over the Negro's future in America, a different 19th century movement concentrated on improving the spiritual and temporal condition of Africans. A deeply religious black American population came to believe that they were part of a "providential design," brought here by God--so Bishop Henry McNeal Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church preached--to acquire education and civilization which they would then take back to Africa.

The AME Church was established in 1793 as blacks seceded from the racism of the white dominated Methodist Church. The AME Church was to become, in the latter part of the 19th century, the largest black American religious body in Africa. It has grown to a quarter of a million members today.

Beginning in 1814, black missionaries were eagerly recruited by white churches to be sent to bring their "heathen" African brothers to Christ. But these black missionaries, who identified with and encouraged African nationalism, succeeded all too well: they resisted the expanding European colonial presence. In 1897, after white churches had backed off from sending any more of them, black church affiliates formed their own missionary societies.

In 1897 the AME Church was successful in persuading its fellow black Methodists in South Africa to follow its own example and break away from the white dominated Wesleyan Church of England and affiliate with the AME. This moment marked the beginning of the movement for independent black churches on the continent. The AMEs were blamed for the 1906 revolt in Durban, South Africa, during which the Africans shouted the slogan which Bishop Turner had made his anthem when in South Africa: "Africa for the Africans." They and other black Americans were excoriated in the South African press for arranging for "young natives" to go to the United States for a college education. South Africa's fears of what such an education might lead to were realized when two Africans, Pixley Seme and John Dube, returned and established the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912.

Seme, the ANC's chief founder, and Dube, its first president, were but two of thousands of Africans who were to come to the campuses of black colleges in the United States to receive a university education often denied to them at home. No greater contribution was made by African-Americans to their ancestral homeland in the century between American Emancipation in the 1860s and African Liberation in the 1960s than the education of young Africans in this country and the building and support of educational facilities in Africa by black church groups.

The list of future leaders trained at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) is impressive. Lincoln University in Pennsylvania graduated the two most important African nationalists of their time--Kwame Nkrumah, whose Ghana became, in 1957, the first sub-Saharan state to achieve independence from colonial rule, and Nnamdi Azikiwe, who became Nigeria's first president in 1960. Hastings Banda, who received medical training at Meharry Medical College, led the break-up of Cecil Rhodes' pride and joy, the Central African Federation. Banda took Nyasaland to independence as Malawi, laying the ground work for the later transformation of the other two members of the federation, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, into Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Ambivalence Among the Black Leadership

African nationalists often saw the resemblance between the status of blacks under white supremacy in America and

(Continued on back page)

February 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **Congressional initiatives of the 102nd Congress**
- **Across the Nation: Al Scott is named Georgia Commissioner of Labor; New Hampshire addresses King holiday; Daniel Blue becomes house speaker in North Carolina; and Earnestine Hunt is appointed judge in Tennessee.**

Legislative Agenda: 102nd Congress

The 102nd Congress convened last month in the throes of a recession and on the verge of war. While the President's attention is dominated by events in the Persian Gulf, this Congress must address a challenging domestic agenda that includes reforming campaign ethics and finance, expanding access to health care while curbing its cost, refurbishing the nation's crumbling infrastructure, salvaging the savings and loan industry, and keeping the banking industry solvent. Other items include education, crime, environment, and labor issues. Several current legislative initiatives that concern matters of particular importance to black Americans are discussed below.

Civil Rights Act

House Judiciary Chairman JACK BROOKS (D-Tex.) has reintroduced the Civil Rights Act of 1990, which passed both houses last year but was vetoed by President Bush. Senator **EDWARD KENNEDY** (D-Mass.), one of the original sponsors of last year's bill, has indicated that he will introduce the bill in the Senate. **Like its predecessor, the new bill, H.R. 1, would reverse or modify five 1989 Supreme Court decisions that weakened the ability of employment discrimination victims to secure redress through the courts. The legislation would also expand Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to allow the awarding of compensatory and punitive damages to victims of job discrimination that is based on sex, religion, or national origin. Title VII already includes that option for victims of job discrimination based on race. H.R. 1 also stresses that employers are not required or encouraged to adopt quotas.**

The 1990 bill was supported by labor, religious, civic, and civil rights groups, while its primary opponents were the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, some members of the business community, and an ad hoc group of business executives called the Fair Employment Coalition. The President vetoed the 1990 bill because, he contended, it would require the implementation of quotas. Although the language of the bill specified that it was not a quota bill, opponents argued that employers would resort to quotas in an effort to avoid the appearance of discrimination. **Brooks and the new legislation's other chief sponsors on the House Judiciary Committee, DON EDWARDS (D-Cal.) and HAMILTON FISH (R-N.Y.), promise swift action on the bill, which is pending in the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights.**

Higher Education Act

The Higher Education Act (HEA), established in 1965 to assist low and moderate income students in attaining postsecondary education, is now up for its five-year reauthorization. A bill to reauthorize HEA has not yet been introduced in either chamber, and committee hearings aren't expected before May. However, education associations and higher education administrators are gearing up for the process, which may bring changes in the eligibility requirements, award formulas, and overall design of the federal loan and grant program, which this past year provided about $19 billion in financial aid for six million college students.

Titles III and IV of the act authorize the bulk of federal student aid. Title III provides funding for historically black colleges and universities. Title IV authorizes the major federal programs that support postsecondary education, including the four primary types of financial aid available through the U.S. Department of Education grants (Pell and Supplemental Opportunity Grants), loans (Perkins and guaranteed student loans or GSLs), work-study, and fellowships.

Once the momentum picks up on reauthorization, legislators will need to address the current imbalance between loan and grant assistance, the increasing rate of student loan default, and access to postsecondary education for minorities and the poor. In the past decade, loans replaced grants as the major source of student funding, creating a financial hardship for some students by forcing them to incur considerable debt. Congress will probably try to fashion ways to balance the grant-loan assistance packages, possibly awarding more grants during the first two years of postsecondary enrollment to ease the debt load and encourage more students to enter college.

Related to the loan dependency problem is the problem of rising loan defaults. The rise in defaults prompted Congress last year to bar Supplemental Loans for Students (SLS) for those enrolled at schools with a default rate of 30 percent or higher. Loans from these schools were identified as the major source of all defaulted loans. Should more measures be taken against those schools, minorities would be heavily affected because so many are enrolled at the two kinds of schools with high default rates: historically black colleges and universities and proprietary trade schools. Both President Bush and the chair of the House Education and Labor Committee, **WILLIAM FORD** (D-Mich.), support federal aid for higher education, but both have said they believe the time is ripe for redesigning the federal aid programs. In the budget proposal he submitted to Congress earlier this month, the President requested $11.97 billion for higher education and proposed changes in the collection and federal liability for student loans, and in reshaping the Pell and GSL programs to fund more and larger grants, instead of loans, to students.

Voter Registration Act

The 101st Congress failed to pass legislation that would have greatly expanded all Americans' access to the ballot by simplifying voter registration. But this Congress has reignited the effort. U.S. Senators WENDELL H. FORD (D-Ky.) and MARK HATFIELD (R-Ore.) have introduced the National Voter Registration Act of 1991, S. 250, which would expand opportunities for eligible citizens to register to vote and implement more effective procedures for maintaining updated registration lists. A similar measure was approved by the House last year, H.R. 2190, but the Senate version of the bill, S. 894, failed to gain floor consideration before adjournment. The new bill, commonly referred to as the motor voter bill, would increase access to voter registration by allowing registration by mail, in public offices and government agencies, and when applying for or renewing a driver's license. While these procedures are currently available in several states, the legislation would make the access uniform throughout the country. The House leadership also plans to reintroduce last year's bill during this Congress.

Last year's House bill and this year's Senate bill both include the motor voter and agency-based registration provisions. However, last year's House bill also would have appropriated funds for the Federal Elections Commission to help states and localities finance the act. Proponents of the bill contend that the measure is necessary to insure wider access and increase voter participation. Opponents argue that it would expand the bureaucracy and saddle state governments with exorbitant administrative costs. The Congressional Budget Office estimated that last year's House bill would cost $20 to $25 million in staffing and computerization in its first five years after.

Racial Justice Act

Michigan Democrat JOHN CONYERS, who is chair of the House Government Operations Committee and a senior member of the Judiciary Committee, plans to again introduce the Racial Justice Act, a measure for limiting the use of the death penalty in a racially disproportionate pattern. The measure was first introduced in 1988 during the 100th Congress in response to a 1987 Supreme Court decision—*McClesky v. Kemp*—which held that statistical evidence of racial disparity is not sufficient to prove violations of the Eighth Amendment (cruel and unusual punishment) and Fourteenth Amendment (equal protection under the law). Conyers says the bill's purpose is to uphold constitutional guarantees. It would allow capital defendants to submit statistical evidence that the death sentence has been imposed with disproportionate frequency against convicts of one race or as punishment for crimes against victims of one race. According to the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, 40 percent of the defendants who have been put to death since 1976 have been black and nearly half of the 2,393 inmates waiting on death row are people of color.

The bill specifically prohibits state governments from imposing death sentences in a racially disproportionate pattern. It requires all states which seek to impose the death penalty to designate an agency to maintain data on capital cases, thus making it easier for capital defendants to obtain necessary data to challenge their sentences. It also requires the appointment of legal counsel as well as investigative and expert services to aid indigent defendants in seeking relief. During the 100th and the 101st Congresses, the bill failed to get beyond committee consideration. A similar provision was deleted from the omnibus crime bill (S.3266) that was passed by Congress last October.

Black Reparations

A bill to study the effects of slavery and continuing discrimination and to examine the feasibility of reparations to black Americans will be reintroduced during this Congress. The bill would establish a commission to carry out the study and make recommendations to Congress regarding what remedies, if any, are in order.

The bill's author, John Conyers, says the bill is similar to one enacted by Congress in 1980 to establish a commission and make recommendations regarding the impact internment had on Japanese-Americans during World War II. That effort led to the passage of legislation in 1988 that provided reparations of $1.25 billion for the surviving Japanese-Americans who had suffered internment. The Conyers bill would establish a seven-member commission to be appointed by the President. In the last Congress, the bill did not pass the subcommittee's mark-up.

African American Research Center

Representative MIKE PARKER, a white Democratic congressman from Mississippi, plans to reintroduce a bill establishing a center of African-American literature at Jackson State University in honor of acclaimed writer Dr. MARGARET WALKER ALEXANDER. The purpose of the National Margaret Walker Alexander Research Center of African-American Literature would be to preserve 20th century black American cultural materials and archival resources. Parker believes the center is needed "to provide a repository for resource material and primary sources on African-American culture and to serve as a tribute to Dr. Margaret Walker Alexander."

She presently is a professor emeritus of English at Jackson State in Jackson, Mississippi, and is known for her contributions to American literature as a novelist and a poet. Her most noted works are the poem "For My People" and the novel *Jubilee.* Republican Mississippi Senator **THAD COCHRAN** plans to introduce a similar version of the bill in the Senate. The bill was introduced last year but failed to move beyond the subcommittee level. If approved, it would authorize $8 million for the establishment of the center.

African-American Museum Bill

Georgia Democratic Congressman JOHN LEWIS will reintroduce legislation to establish a National African-American Heritage Museum dedicated to collecting, cataloging, conserving, and displaying historical materials related to the history of black Americans. Lewis says the museum would hold interpretative and educational programs dedicated to the heritage and culture of America's black citizens. The legislation would also establish a National Trust for Black Museums, which would be responsible for collecting black artifacts, training black museum professionals, and developing programs to further the understanding of black American history and culture. Lewis envisions a museum affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., and, ideally, located on the Mall in front of the Capitol building with the other Smithsonian museums or on some other designated federal property in Washington. The legislation authorizes $5 million to create an administrative structure for fundraising.

Join Us at Our Annual Dinner

We are pleased to invite you to our 14th annual dinner on Tuesday, April 9, 1991. The dinner, saluting black women in politics, will be held at the Washington Hilton Hotel here in the nation's capital. Our keynote speaker will be the mayor of the District of Columbia, Sharon Pratt Dixon. Mr. Robert E. Allen, chairman and CEO of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, is this year's national dinner chairman.

The dinner, which is the Joint Center's only fundraising event, provides significant support for our research and outreach programs. This year's prices for 10-seat tables are: Chairman's Circle, $10,000; Sponsors', $5,000; Patrons', $3,000. Individual tickets are also available for $300 each. For reservations or further information please call Afreda Edwards at (202) 626-3555.

ACROSS THE NATION

GEORGIA: Former state senator AL SCOTT is now serving in the state capitol in Atlanta as commissioner of labor. The Savannah Democrat was appointed to the position by Georgia's new governor ZELL MILLER, also a Democrat. His appointment makes him the first black non-judicial officer in a Georgia statewide post since Reconstruction.

As commissioner of labor, Scott heads a statewide network of 50 offices with a staff of 1,800 and an annual budget of more than $150 million. The state employment offices administer the state's unemployment insurance program, the federal Job Training Partnership Act, and a variety of employment programs.

Scott was first elected to Georgia's house of representatives in 1975 and served through 1982 when he was elected to the state senate, becoming the first black state senator outside of metropolitan Atlanta since Reconstruction. While Scott was in the senate, then Lieutenant Governor Miller named him chairman of the Children and Youth Committee. He also chaired the Public Utilities Committee.

As labor commissioner, Scott replaces **JOE TANNER**, whom Miller has now appointed to take over the state's Department of Natural Resources. In accordance with the state constitution, Scott will have to run in the 1992 general election to retain the commissioner's post for the remaining two years of the four year-term. He has said that he plans to run.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Governor JUDD GREGG declared last January 20 "Martin Luther King Jr. and Civil Rights Celebration Day," and he has announced that he will push for a bill in the state legislature to permanently establish the third Sunday in January for an official celebration in lieu of a paid holiday.

Despite Gregg's executive order, New Hampshire remains, with Arizona, one of only two states that do not observe the third Monday in January, the day of the federal observance, as a state paid holiday in honor of Dr. King. North Dakota recognizes the federal holiday as a state holiday, but without pay. Montana's state legislature approved legislation on February 8 establishing a paid state observance of the federal holiday.

ARNIE ALPERT of New Hampshire's King Holiday Committee, a private organization of citizens pushing for state adoption of the federal holiday, says the governor's support of a celebration day instead of a holiday does not satisfy holiday supporters in the state, who will continue to seek New Hampshire's observance of the federal holiday.

Two related proposals being discussed in New Hampshire include a "Martin Luther King Human Rights Day" bill and a "Civil Rights Day" bill. The first bill, which state senator WAYNE KING plans to introduce this session, would create a paid holiday on the same day as the federal holiday. Supporters of this bill include the state King Holiday Committee and black state representative JUANITA BELL.

Republican state representative **JACQUELYN DOMAINGUE** is expected to offer the second bill, which would establish a "Civil Rights Day" as the fourth Monday in April, replacing a holiday unique to the state dating back to the colonial period called "Fast Day." Domaingue has stated that she supports a "Civil Rights Day" because it would embrace more people than would a holiday honoring one man (King).

NORTH CAROLINA: The new speaker of the state house of representatives is black Democrat DANIEL BLUE, a lawyer from Raleigh. Blue was elected to the two-year term by the house last month with support from both parties.

A graduate of Duke University Law School, Blue has served in the house for 10 years. He has been a member of the Rules and Appropriations committees and a vice chair of the Judiciary Committee. He has chaired the state legislature's Black Caucus, and in 1988 headed North Carolina's Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign, and later co-chaired the Dukakis-Bentsen campaign.

Blue's election makes him the fourth black man in the United States to be speaker of a state house. The others are S. HOWARD WOODSON, JR., who was speaker of the New Jersey Assembly from 1974 to 1976; K. LEROY IRVIS, who presided as speaker of the Pennsylvania house from 1977 to 1978 and again from 1982 until his retirement in 1988; and WILLIE L. BROWN, JR., the current speaker of the California Assembly, first elected in 1980.

TENNESSEE: In December, EARNESTINE HUNT was sworn in as the first black female city judge in Memphis. She was elected with 60 percent of the vote in a December 11 runoff against SARA KYLE. Kyle, a white former assistant public defender, has family ties to two of Tennessee's major Democratic political players: both her husband and aunt are state senators.

Hunt is a graduate of Clark University in Atlanta and Memphis State University Law School. Prior to the December election, she was engaged in private law practice in Memphis and worked as a trial lawyer for the Shelby County Public Defender's Office.

Hunt was sworn in by Memphis Judge **BERNICE BOUIE DONALD**, the first black woman elected to a judgeship in the state and the first black woman appointed to the federal bench in the Western District of Tennessee. Donald was elected to the General Sessions Criminal Court in 1982 and appointed to the U.S. Bankruptcy Court in 1988.

Reminder!

Don't forget to return the *Focus* readers survey that appeared in the January issue of the magazine.

Unfinished Business of Carter G. Woodson

The Work of the Nation's Pioneering Scholar of African-American History Continues in Struggles Over School Curricula

by Mary Frances Berry

In 1934, the prominent British historian Arnold Toynbee asserted, "[O]f all the races of mankind, only the black race had made no productive contribution to civilization." That view was casually tossed about in the first half of this century by professional historians, practically all of them white males, who consistently discounted African-American people in their writings.

The first American scholar to overturn the "conventional wisdom" about blacks' role in history was Carter G. Woodson. Considered by many to be the father of African-American history, Woodson endeavored over his lifetime to ensure that a truthful picture of black people was included in the history curriculum as well as the popular literature of our society. He was a man who saw the strength and character evident in the history of the race and its traditions and was determined to perpetuate them. Woodson created institutions that have stimulated scholarship on African-American history and developed forums for generations of black and white scholars who have expanded his work. He answered those who criticized his race by using the tools of the historian—research, scholarship, and writings—as well as the force of his personality, his determination and willingness to sacrifice.

Yet, despite Woodson's monumental effort, black history continues to suffer from distortion and neglect. In some communities high school teachers cannot discuss the subject of black history without objection. That it is not included as a matter of course in the U.S. history curricula of schools and universities indicates that Woodson's work is not yet finished and that his cause is still embattled.

Woodson is most widely known as the man who, in 1926, created Negro History Week, now Black History Month, which is celebrated as Woodson intended during February, the birth month of Abraham Lincoln and reportedly also of Frederick Douglass. But Woodson's role in promoting greater awareness and understanding of black history goes far beyond this most visible contribution.

Born to former slaves in 1875, Carter G. Woodson educated himself during his teenage years while working in coal mines. Entering high school at 17, he finished in a year and a half and went on to earn a bachelor's degree from Berea College in Kentucky. Attending the University of Chicago in the summers and by correspondence, he received another bachelor's degree from that institution in 1905. In 1912, he became the second African-American after W.E.B. DuBois to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard.

An institution builder, in 1915 Woodson was the principal founder in Chicago of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (relocated to Washington, D.C., later that year), which became a vehicle for disseminating scholarly materials to schools and community organizations. In 1916 he also founded the *Journal of Negro History* and served as its editor for 34 years. Through the *Journal* and the Association's conventions, black intellectuals were provided forums at a time when racism kept the doors of most scholarly organizations closed to them. And in 1937, Woodson established the *Negro History Bulletin* to publish articles and reviews for the general public. He was a prolific writer himself, and his own publications brought the rich history of black America to wide audiences ranging from scholars to school children.

History from the Bottom Up

Much of Woodson's work involved modifying history curricula to pay greater attention to the contributions, deficiencies, problems, and experiences of groups that have been subordinated in American society. Over time, historians who have followed in his footsteps have continued the process of correcting history. Events such as the civil rights movement as well as economic and social change moved African-American history into the mainstream and accelerated interest in it. The civil rights movement, in particular, stimulated the guilt of whites and prompted interest by white and black historians in the writing of black history. Woodson studied history by examining census data, marriage registers, birth and death certificates, diaries, and oral histories of people who lived their lives without access to the levers of power. So when the study of history shifted focus from an emphasis on elites to a "bottom up" approach, historians had to do it Woodson's way.

Historian John Hope Franklin said of Woodson's work, "it was a remarkable attempt to rehabilitate a whole people, to explode racial myths, to establish a secure and respectable place for the Negro in the evolution of the American social order, to develop self-respect and self-es-

(Continued on page 6)

Dr. Berry is the Geraldine R. Segal professor of American social thought and professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and a member of the Joint Center's Committee on Policy for Racial Justice.

Woodson

(Continued from page 5)

teem among those who had been subjected to the greatest indignities known in the Western world."

Woodson was a race man, a proud man who ruffled feathers. Yet he was not the intellectual separatist that his critics charged. White scholars served on the boards of the organizations he founded and he encouraged their participation at meetings and in the Journal. He would not have approved of the black nationalists' efforts in the 1960s to exclude white scholars from the study of black history. He would also have been angry to see that young African-American historians in the late 1960s and 1970s neglected the organizations he created as they gained admittance to mainstream associations.

Woodson would also be disappointed today at the low level of our public policy debates and the inability of most Americans—especially our young people—to place any substantive subject in a historical context. For example, students know about "I have a dream" (the theme of one of Dr. King's most memorable speeches) but not about non-violent protests (the core of King's philosophy). They know who Abe Lincoln was but not what caused the secession of Southern states or the Civil War. Only half know why there was a Bill of Rights. And merely 38 percent know the opening of the Declaration of Independence.

Self-Esteem and the Western Tradition

The scholarship of Woodson's books and the *Journal of Negro History* were praised by distinguished historians and other scholars. Yet he had many detractors. Thomas Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation influenced other foundations to withdraw support from Woodson's projects after Woodson had criticized Jones' African Educational Commission, which tried to establish a system of education in Africa that was likely to perpetuate colonial rule. Jones insisted that Woodson had become "a propagandist with a distinct antipathy to movements for racial cooperation."

Today, the detractors of African-American history are still at large. The National Association of Scholars, a group of American academics, argues for the centrality of the "Western tradition" and attacks those who want to reform the history curriculum as politicizing it. Yet a cursory knowledge of world history tells us that the traditions of the West, in terms of historical time, are of recent origin. Any valid historical interpretation would tell us that there is no reason to infer that Western traditions will remain dominant. Moreover, a knowledge of the entire world today would tell us that these traditions are not universal.

Columbia University historian Diane Ravitch has taken issue with the notion that history can be used to teach self-esteem or racial and ethnic pride. Yet those have traditionally been the goals of history instruction. History, as taught in our schools, has been a celebration of the white, male, Protestant Founding Fathers rather than the great mix of people in the American drama. It has praised the West and the Frontier as opportunity and advancement, focusing only on the white men who made it rather than the poor who did not or the Indians who were robbed.

Efforts at changing historical inaccuracies about some white groups and acknowledging their contributions have been made in a number of textbooks, as in the following examples: The "group's loyalty and talent for politics in the Democratic medium made [the Irish] the first and most enduring of racial blocs in America. Their control of the local government of New York was long proverbial" (Morrison & Commager); "Pennsylvania Germans became celebrated throughout the country for their rich gardens and orchards and their stout barns and well-tended livestock, their sturdy self-sufficiency," and, "Their readiness to penetrate ever deeper across the Indian frontier formed [the Scotch-Irish] and their descendants into the characteristic American type" (Hofstadter, Miller & Aron).

People who are in subordinated groups want history simply to do for them what history has already done for white males. It is well that history tells the story of white inventors like Cyrus McCormick and his planting and mowing machine, Christopher Latham Sholes' typewriter and John Deere's steel plow. There is nothing wrong with telling children about the glories of these historical figures, so long as that is not all we tell them.

Why can't our history also tell us of Elijah McCoy, who patented 50 inventions for automatic lubrication of railroad cars and locomotives. The integrity of his products led to the term "real McCoy." Granville Woods created several inventions in the fields of electricity, steam boilers, and automatic brakes that were assigned to General Electric, Westinghouse Air Brakes, and American Bell Telephone. Jan Matzeliger invented the shoe-lasting machine—purchased by United Shoe Machinery Company—which reduced the cost of manufacturing shoes by 50 percent.

Woodson's Unfinished Work

Anyone who looks at recent history textbooks can tell that the revision of standards and relative weights for gauging what aspects of black history are important enough to include in texts is only gradually taking place. Information is being tacked on instead of incorporated to challenge existing interpretations.

Thus, while black history has matured since Woodson's time, much work remains to be done. Those who would follow in his path must engage sincerely in the historian's task not to distort but to tell the truth and to interpret fairly in as many ways as may present themselves. If that is done, we will enrich the study of history, and some self-esteem for the previously unesteemed will naturally result. Ultimately, what Woodson started and modern historians have continued has a higher, more universal purpose than correcting the historical record. In the words of Dr. John Hope Franklin, Woodson made a "valiant attempt to force America to keep faith with herself, to remind her that truth is more praiseworthy than power, and that justice and equality, long the stated policy of this nation, would apply to all citizens and even to the writing of history." ■

When to End Busing

A Recent U.S. Supreme Court Decision on School Desegregation Raises as Many Questions as It Answers

by Mark Lloyd

In *Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell,* the U.S. Supreme Court opened the pandora's box of school busing, peeked inside, stirred around a bit, and then passed the box back to the local district court. What escaped from that box is as yet uncertain. And, according to school desegregation experts, therein lies the danger.

The dispute was between black parents and the Oklahoma City Board of Education over a "neighborhood school plan." That plan, opponents argued,would lead to resegregated elementary schools and an inferior education for their children. The school system countered that 17 years under a desegregation decree was enough. In a 5-to-3 decision handed down on January 15, the Supreme Court stopped short of releasing the school system from court supervision but said the guideline used by the Court of Appeals to maintain court supervision was too strict.

The question squarely before the Supreme Court was: When can a school system be released from a federal court desegregation order? The answer was: When the school board has complied with the order in good faith and "the vestiges of past discrimination had been eliminated to the extent practicable." Precisely what those "vestiges" are, or what the "practicable" extent is, remains unclear.

There was no disagreement over the much heralded Supreme Court finding that federal oversight was "not intended to operate in perpetuity." The Court's majority and the dissenters agreed that a school desegregation decree should end when the purposes of the decree were met. The dissenting justices split from the majority on the purposes of desegregation and on how far a school system has to go to meet those purposes. Writing for the dissenters, Justice Thurgood Marshall argued that the Court needed to state that "a desegregation decree cannot be lifted so long as conditions likely to inflict . . . stigmatic injury . . . persist and there remain *feasible* methods of eliminating such conditions. Included in the concept of vestige is any condition that is likely to convey the message of inferiority implicit in a policy of segregation." Chief Justice Rehnquist wrote for the majority, "in considering whether the vestiges of de jure segregation had been eliminated as far as *practicable,* the federal district court should look not only at student assignments, but to every facet of school operations—faculty, staff, transportation, extra-curricular activities and facilities." Rehnquist's checklist did not mention the stigmas referred to by Marshall.

According to long-time civil rights attorney William Taylor, the important difference between the majority and the dissent is that "Justice Marshall wants to call attention to the underlying conditions that may lead to resegregating the school. However, Chief Justice Rehnquist ignores the underlying conditions and adopts a go-by-the-numbers approach." Even so, says Taylor, the majority "did not define the circumstances that would lead to dissolving the desegregation decree. I'm concerned where things are heading, but they haven't gotten there yet."

It is now up to the federal district court to determine whether Oklahoma City schools meet the Supreme Court's guidelines. In all likelihood, the judge will be Luther Bohanon, the man who has presided over the local case since the original suit was filed in 1961. Bohanon imposed the desegregation decree in 1972, and five years later he granted the school board's motion to limit court supervision, writing that he "did not foresee the termination of the [desegregation] plan."

In 1984, however, the school board altered the plan, returning students in grades K through four to neighborhood schools. As a result, 33 of 64 Oklahoma City elementary schools have resegregated along racial lines, becoming either mostly black (90 percent or greater) or mostly white (80 percent or greater). Students in grades five through 12 are still being bused. In 1989, Bohanon dissolved the desegregation decree, ruling that "residential segregation in Oklahoma City was the result of private decision-making and economics," and that it was "too attenuated to be a vestige of former school segregation." The court of appeals reversed that decision, calling it "clearly erroneous."

University of Chicago Professor Gary Orfield, author of several studies on public school desegregation, says the spectre of continuing legal battles over this issue makes the Supreme Court's decision a "great loss to the civil rights community." According to Orfield, the limited means parents and civil rights organizations have to pursue these legal battles are hardly a match against the legal resources of the hundreds of school districts opposed to desegregation.

"Reagan and Bush have had 10 years to pack the district and appellate benches with conservative, anti-integration judges. And now the Supreme Court has put the future of school integration in the hands of these local judges." Orfield concludes, "All of us who understand the importance of integrated schools will have to become much more active at the local levels." ■

Mr. Lloyd is the Joint Center's associate director of Communications.

Africa

(Continued from page 5)

their own condition under colonialism. Delany's "broken nation" could be compared to their own occupied homelands. In this realization they were often far ahead of American black leaders.

The dilemma as to how central to the concerns of blacks Africa was or should be is one with which leaders of the race have wrestled since the time of Frederick Douglass, who worried that preoccupation with Africa "plants our guns too far from the [primary] battlements." In Douglass's time Africa loomed as an issue mainly in regard to colonization and emigration schemes. These he opposed strongly, not out of any rejection of his African roots but because of his hostility toward those who sought to solve the problem of the Negro in America by ridding the country of his presence.

In the 1890s, when poor Southern blacks attempted to escape the oppression of newly enacted Jim Crow laws by reviving the African emigration movement, it was almost universally opposed by the educated black middle-class. The latter argued that they had as much a claim on America as anyone else, that they were here to stay and to change the system so they could benefit from it.

But being American did not mean abandoning interest in Africa's welfare. When in 1884 the "scramble for Africa" began, with the European powers partitioning the continent, many blacks vocally opposed any participation in it by the U.S. government. They were in line with the predominant sentiments of their fellow countrymen who were against imperial ventures in Africa. Blacks favored the "opening up" of Africa but were opposed to white domination of the continent. They supported the prevailing idea that Africa had to be "civilized" but felt this should be done through the promotion of missionary work and the pursuit of business opportunities rather than through European colonization or black American emigration.

The most influential black leader of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was a former slave, Booker T. Washington. As president of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, he eschewed a curriculum based on the liberal arts in favor of one that promoted industrial training. Washington's accomodationist racial views and his emphasis on teaching vocational skills through what became known as the "Tuskegee Model" won him wide acceptance in the white community in the United States and overseas. Washington was to have a huge influence on African education as colonial administrators, wary of the militant gospel being preached by black missionaries, sought to apply his methods to the training of Africans under their charge.

Ironically, Washington's model was rejected in turn-of-the-century South Africa. White workers there feared competition from Africans with vocational training, so government officials and labor leaders joined forces to promote job reservation laws which limited skilled trades to whites.

While Washington's involvement with Africa focused on replicating the Tuskegee model, he did become engaged in one of the major issues of African policy of the day–the Congo Free State. The Congo was neither free nor a state but rather a territory which Leopold II, King of the Belgians, ruled as a personal fiefdom beyond the audit of the government upon whose throne he sat. As Black Americans were showing a growing concern about the human rights abuses being committed in the middle of Africa by the representatives of Leopold, Booker T. Washington became greatly influenced by a report on the abuses in the Congo written by George Washington Williams, a black historian. Williams had been sent there on a fact finding mission by the United States Congress in 1890. As a result, Washington accepted the vice presidency of the U.S. based Congo Reform Association. From that platform, he became the first black leader to rally American public opinion against the injustices of European colonial role in Africa. ■

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Louis Sullivan's Health Mission to Africa

On February 5, the Secretary of HHS Conducted a Briefing at the Joint Center on His Visit to Africa and the State of Health Care There

The Next Round for Voter Registration Reform

After Legislation Designed to Expand Voter Rolls Failed Last Year, a New Proposal Is Being Debated On and Off Capitol Hill

Keeping History as Important as Making It

Black Officials Must Take Responsibility for Contributing to American Political History by Preserving Their Papers and Political Memorabilia

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Compromise on Voter Registration Reform

Last year, legislation that would put millions of new voters on the nation's voter rolls passed in the U.S. House of Representatives by a bipartisan majority of 289 to 132. A stronger registration reform measure failed to reach the Senate floor before that body adjourned. Commonly called the "motor voter" bills, the legislation would allow citizens to register to vote at motor vehicle licensing bureaus, other government agencies and by mail. While the legislation is complex and has many legal ramifications, one reason it did not pass in the Senate was the widespread perception that some key members of the civil rights community were uncomfortable with the compromises necessary for passage. There were indeed unresolved questions about the impact of the bill on the Voting Rights Act and fears that its provisions would not adequately protect black and low–income voters from being "purged" from the rolls.

Strong support for "motor voter" legislation has carried over into the 102nd Congress. However, when a voter registration reform bill (S. 250) was introduced in the Senate in January, it became clear that many of the issues raised last year remain unresolved. Because registration reform is so vital to the black electorate, especially during a time of declining registration rates, the root concerns deserve serious attention in order to reach a consensus.

First, the legislation should be clearly drafted so it cannot be interpreted as superceding or in any way limiting the provisions of the Voting Rights Act as amended in 1982. Without such clarity, the motor voter bill could work to the disadvantage of minorities. For example, if a statistical review found that a disproportionate number of blacks had not been registered through any of the provisions of the bill, it could be argued that the *effect* of the motor voter bill, on its face, had been to dilute the voting strength of minorities, in violation of the Voting Rights Act. In other words, judges hostile to the broad reach of the Voting Rights Act as amended could use the motor voter bill as a means of weakening an application of the Voting Rights Act to a discriminatory voter purge.

Another concern is that the bill's language on removing or "purging" names from registration lists does not go far enough to protect voters who are removed improperly from the rolls. There is a fear that inconsistent mail delivery of purge notices to blacks by officials could result in a dramatic reduction of the number of registrants in black neighborhoods. Because black and other minority precincts in New Jersey, New York, Louisiana, Michigan, and other states have been subject to discriminatory purges in the recent past, these fears are not without foundation. Voters should be guaranteed proper notice before they are removed from voter lists, but in the event of an error or inadequate notice, they should be able to vote on election day. That is, they should not have to suffer through a lengthy or intimidating procedure at the polls to confirm their current address, since such procedures could lead to abuses or long lines that would discourage participation.

These unresolved issues are serious but not insurmountable. Reform legislation is urgently needed—it is imperative that all parties concerned come together in a spirit of goodwill to fashion a bill that the Congress will pass and the President cannot successfully veto. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Louis Sullivan's Health Mission to Africa

On February 5, the Secretary of HHS Conducted a Briefing at the Joint Center on His Visit to Africa and the State of Health Care There

The Mission. In his remarks at the World Summit for Children held under the auspices of UNICEF in New York last September, President Bush called upon Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan and Dr. Ronald W. Roskens, administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S.A.I.D.), to lead a fact finding mission to Africa to determine "what else America and the world can do to advance child survival across that continent."

During their two-week mission in January, Sullivan and Roskens, accompanied by 20 other U.S. experts and government officials, met with government leaders and health professionals in the Ivory Coast, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. Assessing Africa's child health problems, the delegates were struck by the devastating impact of the AIDS epidemic and of malnutrition, malaria, and dehydration, particularly on mothers and children. Their report to the President identified areas where cooperation between the U.S. and African institutions can be expanded and the quality of U.S. assistance can be improved.

Secretary Sullivan. An honors graduate from Morehouse College in Atlanta, Louis Sullivan later earned a medical degree from Boston University, also with honors. Over his more than 30 years of service to the healing science, he has not only practiced medicine but has also been a professor of medicine and made major contributions as a researcher in the field of hematology. In 1975, Sullivan became the founding dean and director of the two-year Medical Education Program at Morehouse College. Under his guidance, that program became the Morehouse Medical School, a fully accredited institution which awarded M.D. degrees to its first 16 graduates in May, 1985. In 1982, Sullivan joined then-vice president George Bush's 12-member delegation to seven African countries.

On March 1, 1989, Sullivan was sworn in as secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS), the agency responsible for the major health, welfare, food and drug safety, medical research, and income security programs of the federal government. Created in 1980 from the former Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, HHS has 114,000 employees and is responsible for approximately 250 separate programs. The HHS budget, projected at $625 billion for FY92, is larger than that of any other federal agency and makes up more than 36 percent of the federal budget overall. Following are Secretary Sullivan's remarks.

Introduction. The African continent is a complex mosaic of 500 million people with different languages, cultures, and religions. It is also a continent with massive problems and enormous opportunities. Ours was the most senior U.S. governmental delegation ever to visit some of the countries—certainly in Uganda and Malawi, and also in South Africa except for a brief visit of Secretary of State James A. Baker during the Namibian independence celebration last year.

The delegation found the movement toward democratic government in Africa to be most impressive. Senegal has experienced a peaceful succession of leadership in its multiparty civilian political system. The Ivory Coast had presidential elections last fall. And elections in Nigeria are in the planning stage. In Uganda, democratization has been temporarily set back as elections have been postponed. This has been cause for concern in that country but hopefully the process will get back on track soon.

The economies in these countries are depressed because they are mostly commodity-based. For example, Ivory Coast's chief products are coffee and cocoa, for which world prices have been greatly depressed. The same is true of the other countries we visited. If economic development in Africa is to move forward, large investments from the private sector are needed. In turn, the advance of stable democratic government in African countries is essential if they are to attract investment.

Child Killers. In the area of health, Africa has the highest rate of deaths among infants and children under the age of five in the world. About a million African children a year die from infant diarrhea. Malaria is also a major killer: in Malawi, it is the number one cause of death among children under age five, and we are now seeing drug-resistant malarial strains in that country. But other diseases are also significant causes of death among African children, including encephalitis, pneumonia, whooping cough, polio, and measles. Progress is being made against childhood diseases in countries like Nigeria, which has immunized over 60 percent of its children. In some communities, the immunization rate is as high as 90 percent, according to the Nigerian minister of health. That's certainly impressive compared to where they were five years ago when the rate was less than 30 percent. (The U.S. rate is around 95 percent, though in some inner-city neighborhoods it is as low as 80-85 percent.)

Many African countries have an insufficient number of trained health professionals. My staff will be following up with African physicians and other health professionals to help them develop stronger primary medical care networks. Through our public health service and the Centers

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HHS

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for Disease Control (CDC), we will help these countries expand their epidemiological capabilities and train their health personnel.

There are other things that we are already doing. The CDC is assisting the Ivory Coast in tracking the spread of the AIDS virus and helping to develop public educational and prevention programs. In Zaire, a World Health Organization AIDS project funded by the U.S. is helping that country build its epidemiological capabilities. Zaire has a medical school that was funded through a U.S.A.I.D. contract with the Tulane University School of Public Health. Senegal and the Ivory Coast are also considering the development of schools of public health.

In Malawi, a country of nine million people, there are 150 physicians. But of that total, 120 are foreign nationals, most of them from Germany and the Netherlands and under contract in Malawi. Only 30 Malawian physicians are in the whole country. That country is opening a medical school in September because it has determined that for a country its size, the establishment of such an institution is necessary to meet the health care needs of its population. There are a number of Malawian health professionals in England, Germany, and here in the U.S., where they've gone to train and stayed. Part of the reason they don't return home is the frustration of being trained for the kind of medical system we have here and then going back and not being able to practice medicine in that way.

The Scourge of AIDS. With the kinds of health problems I've just indicated, Africa was already in a bad way before the AIDS virus came along. The impact of AIDS varies tremendously from one country to the next. For example, in Nigeria they have seen very few AIDS patients thus far. At the same time, their testing for the virus shows that in several population groups, primarily in urban areas, the virus infects around four to five percent of the population. By comparison, one person in 200 in the U.S. is infected with the virus. We estimate that in the U.S. we have about a million people infected with the virus, whereas in Africa there are approximately five million infected overall.

In Zimbabwe, the incidence of the virus is relatively low. The same was true of the Ivory Coast, which five years ago had virtually no AIDS patients. Now the Ivory Coast is seeing an infection rate of around 12 percent of the population and that rate is escalating very rapidly. We project that there, like here in the U.S., they are going to see a lot more cases in the next two to five years. That's a major problem for open societies like the Ivory Coast where people move in and out much more easily than in most countries in Africa.

The country where AIDS has hit with full force is Uganda. There, some 23 percent of the population has tested positive for the human immunodeficiency virus (the AIDS causing virus) and it is spreading rapidly. Some villages are made up of only children and old people; practically all of the people between the ages of 20 and 50 are dead—they've been wiped out by the AIDS virus. The country's president, Yowei Museveni, a Muslim who holds very strong religious beliefs, until recently opposed the use of condoms or condom distribution because of his concern over promoting sexual promiscuity. The AIDS problem has been so severe that President Museveni has now become very public and vocal about urging Ugandans to abstain from promiscuous sex or to use a condom if they engage in sex outside of marriage. His wife has become involved in developing plans to care for the increasing number of orphans. There are already 200,000 orphans in the country, largely as a result of the ravages of the AIDS virus, and the number is growing.

The health care infrastructure in that country is indeed quite weak. Makerere University was a fine institution that was internationally recognized and renowned, with an outstanding medical school where a number of medical discoveries had been made. Today its buildings are still riddled with bullet holes—scars left by attacks from former president Idi Amin's soldiers. The library hasn't had a new book in years. While it was heart-wrenching to witness this devastation, I was encouraged by the fact that Ugandans are returning to rebuild the university as well as other parts of the infrastructure.

Based upon my visit, I feel that Africa has tremendous problems which are going to be around for a significant time. Yet there are also great opportunities for the United States to be of assistance both from a humanitarian perspective as well as from the perspective of self-interest. The commodities that these countries produce, as well as their value as potential markets, are significant.

Obviously, as each African country gets on its feet economically, the potential for trading partnerships increases. But it's not going to be easy. It will take time and investment from both public and private sectors. Even though the HHS portfolio is almost exclusively a domestic one, the Department will conduct cooperative efforts with U.S.A.I.D., our primary funding agency for international assistance, to provide health assistance to Africa.

A Time for Advocacy. Finally, black Americans have a responsibility as well as an opportunity to see that the level of interest and support for Africa increases. American international health assistance is only a shadow of what it should be. So far as Africa is concerned, black Americans have not been strong advocates. It is certainly in keeping with our society that when Tip O'Neill is concerned about issues in Ireland, that's appropriate. It's also alright for Ed Derwinski (the secretary for Veteran's Affairs), my colleague in the cabinet, to visit Poland and urge the U.S. to be more helpful there.

The tendency that we have in the U.S. to be less involved in Africa than in European nations needs to be reassessed, both from a humanitarian perspective as well as from a standpoint of promoting democracy. In this country, where some 12 percent of our population traces its lineage back to Africa, we are challenged to educate the public, the Congress, and the President about Africa so that the problems and opportunities offered by that continent are put on the table for policy discussion and action. ■

March 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- Congress reconsiders parental and medical leave legislation.
- Bush appoints black scientist to head National Science Foundation.
- Joint Center survey reveals that the term "black" is preferred.
- Across the Nation: Bettye Davis is elected to the Alaska House; Doris Ward is president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors; Richard Daley retains mayor's post in Chicago; and Kurt Schmoke gears up for re-election in Baltimore.

Congress Tries Again for Parental and Medical Leave Bill

Labor and women's organizations are prepared to go head-to-head once more this year against powerful business lobbies to battle for the Family and Medical Leave Act (H.R. 2. and S. 5), which would require businesses to allow their employees 12 weeks of unpaid leave in certain cases involving a birth, an adoption, or a serious illness. Last year, a similar bill was approved by both houses of Congress, but it failed to win the President's approval. On May 10 the House had passed that bill 237 to 187 and on June 14 the Senate had approved it by voice vote. But saying he "strongly objected to the federal government mandating leave policies for America's employers and work force," the President vetoed the legislation two weeks later. The House fell 58 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to override his veto.

This year's bill, which was again introduced by Sen. **CHRISTOPHER DODD** (D- Conn.) and Rep. **WILLIAM CLAY** (D-Mo.), differs little from last year's measure. The bill mandates that employers must allow their employees unpaid parental leave to care for a newborn infant, a newly adopted child, or a sick child. It also requires unpaid medical leave for an employee who needs to care for a seriously ill spouse, parent, or in-law. Businesses with fewer than 50 employees would be exempt from these requirements. Any full-time or part time employee who has worked at least one thousand hours would be eligible for the leave benefits, and the employer must guarantee the employee's job security and maintain his or her health insurance. The employee would be required to give one month's notice prior to taking the leave and prior to returning to the job. The bill has bipartisan support and 167 co-sponsors.

Lobbying for the bill is the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) Coalition, a group of 160 organizations representing womens', labor, religious, and senior citizens' groups. Coalition members include the American Association of Retired Persons, the AFL-CIO, Church Women United, the National Organization for Women, and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. The coalition was originally organized five years ago by the Washington, D.C. -based Women's Legal Defense Fund to lobby for passage of the first parental and medical leave bill, introduced by Rep. **PATRICIA SCHROEDER** (D-Colo.). In addition to grassroots lobbying, the coalition has provided Congress with analyses of the bill's impact and with position papers.

Opponents argue that the bill would burden businesses because employers would not only have to maintain jobs for workers on leave but also hire and train temporary employees during the interim. The leading detractors of the bill include the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB), and the Concerned Alliance of Responsible Employers (CARE), an ad hoc group of 170 business organizations. **MARY TAVENNER** of CARE says, "We don't oppose the benefit, we oppose mandated leave. When you start mandating a benefit, you hurt an employer's ability to run his shop."

CAROLYN MILLER of NFIB says the business community would prefer that decisions on employee benefits be determined between employer and employee. Miller says, "To impose the mandate is to harm the businesses' flexibility and productivity. It's anti-business and anti-employee."

Nevertheless, according to **NICOLE GUERON** of the Women's Legal Defense Fund, the FMLA Coalition is optimistic about approval of the bill this year. Gueron says business support is growing and leaders like **LAWRENCE PERLMAN**, CEO of Control Data, a Fortune 500 company, have come out in support of the bill. Supporters are hoping that newly appointed Labor Secretary **LYNN MARTIN**, who voted for the bill last year as a Republican congresswoman from Illinois, will lobby the White House. Last year, coalition members divided their energies between the leave bill, the child care bill, and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). Gueron says since the child care bill and the ADA were approved, the leave bill can now benefit from the coalition's full attention.

JANE O'GRADY of the AFL-CIO says, "The bill is a labor benefit that all workers should enjoy. As more members of the family become a part of the American workforce, it would seem that employers would want to make some accommodations." She adds, "There is a need for this type of employee benefit, many businesses already have it, and it [the bill] is not an overwhelming burden on business." The full House may consider the bill before mid-April.

Black Physicist Takes the Helm at National Science Foundation

In February the U.S. Senate confirmed President Bush's nomination of black physicist WALTER E. MASSEY to head the National Science Foundation (NSF) in Washington, D.C. Considered by many to be one the nation's top research scientists, Massey becomes the second black person to direct the 41-year-old independent federal agency, which is charged with strengthening education and research in science and engineering at all levels. The foundation's first black director was JOHN B. SLAUGHTER, who served from 1980 to 1982. Slaughter is now president of Occidental College in Los Angeles, California.

Massey, a 52-year-old native of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, has been vice president for research at The University of Chicago and director of the Argonne National Laboratory. He has also served as professor of physics at the University of Illinois and Brown University. A graduate of Morehouse College, Massey received an M.S. and Ph.D. in physics from Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. He has been a member of the National Science Board, the board of directors of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and President Bush's Council of Advisers on Science and Technology.

In his confirmation testimony before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, Massey stated that the United States must work to reclaim its position as a world leader in scientific research and development. He noted that in the past decade the governments of Japan and Germany have dedicated proportionally almost twice the funding to non-defense research and development as has the United States. Massey believes this trend threatens our nation's technological and economic competitiveness abroad. "The nation's ability to compete in the international marketplace, is based on important advances in science and engineering and the ability to introduce them into the market quickly, efficiently, and creatively," he says.

According to Massey, the United States faces two basic challenges: to "improve the quality of science and engineering education at all levels, and increase the number of people knowledgeable about science and engineering." During the last 10 years, he notes, the number of Americans receiving Ph.D.s in science and engineering has declined, and the proportion obtained by minorities is woefully inadequate. "Only eight percent of the bachelor's degrees and four percent of the Ph.D.s in science and engineering are awarded to blacks and Hispanics, while the numbers of high school and college-aged women interested in scientific and engineering fields are only a fraction of those of their male counterparts," he notes. Massey hopes to strengthen NSF initiatives to interest undergraduate and precollege students, including minorities, in pursuing the sciences. One such initiative is the Alliance for Minority Participation (AMP), a year-old program to which the NSF, colleges and universities, and the private sector have contributed in order to attract and retain minorities in bachelor's and advanced degree programs in science and engineering.

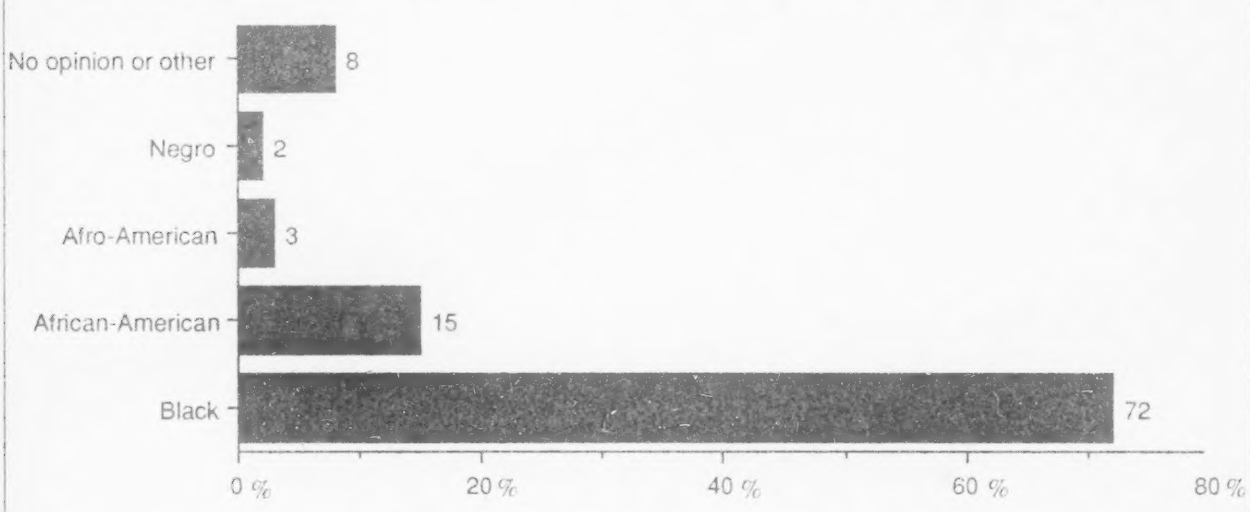
Massey does not plan to impose any sweeping changes in the administration or direction of NSF. "We're headed in the right direction," he says. His first priority is to get Congress to approve the President's budget proposal for the foundation. The budget calls for a 17.5 percent increase over last year's funding, bringing the total to $2.72 billion for fiscal year 1992. NSF, which currently has a budget of $2.2 billion, awards grants to academic research institutions, private research firms, industrial labs, and major research facilities and centers.

Survey Reveals Preference for the Term "Black"

According to the Joint Center's annual nationwide survey, black Americans prefer to use the term "black" rather than the term "African-American" to describe themselves. Of the 759 black persons randomly sampled, 72 percent preferred the term "black," 15 percent "African American," three percent "Afro-American," and two percent "Negro." Eight percent had no opinion or liked other terms.

The poll was conducted nationwide by telephone between August 31 and October 4, and had a sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points. The survey found some regional differences: In the East, the term "black" was preferred by 72 percent, in the Midwest by 76 percent, in the South by 85 percent, and in the West by 78 percent. The term "African-American" was more popular among those with a college education than those who had not gone beyond high school; the former group preferred the term by a margin of 20 percent to 15 percent. It was least favored by older respondents: 17 percent of those over age 50 preferred "African-American," compared with 19 percent of those age 30 to 49 and 28 percent of those age 18 to 29.

Percentage of Survey Respondents Preferring Selected Group Terms



Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Survey, 1990.

Join Us at Our Annual Dinner

We are pleased to invite you to our 14th annual dinner on Tuesday, April 9, 1991. The dinner, saluting black women in politics, will be held at the Washington Hilton Hotel here in the nation's capital. Our keynote speaker will be the mayor of the District of Columbia, Sharon Pratt Dixon. Robert E. Allen, chairman and CEO of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, is this year's national dinner chairman. The dinner, which is the Joint Center's only fundraising event, provides significant support for our research and outreach programs. This year's prices for 10-seat tables are: Chairman's Circle, $10,000; Sponsors', $5,000; Patrons', $3,000. Individual tickets are also available for $300 each. For reservations or further information please call Alfreda Edwards at (202) 626-3555.

ACROSS THE NATION

ALASKA: In November, Democrat BETTYE J. DAVIS became the first black woman elected to the Alaska state legislature. She now represents District 14B, which includes the state's largest city, Anchorage. A retired social worker and former member of the Anchorage Board of Education, Davis is also the first Democrat to represent the majority Republican district. The seat was held by black Republican **WALT FURNACE**, who vacated it last year to run, unsuccessfully, for the state senate. Unopposed in the August primary, Davis beat white Republican **CHUCK DICKEY** in the general election by one percentage point.

A native of Louisiana, Davis came to the Last Frontier State 18 years ago and has been active in the NAACP, the Women's Political Caucus, and the National Alliance of Black School Educators. In the Alaska House of Representatives, she has been assigned as chair of the Children's Caucus and vice chair of the Health, Education and Social Services Committee. She also serves on the Community and Regional Affairs Committee and the Special Committee on International Trade and Tourism.

The first black member of Alaska's legislature was **BLANCHE PRESTON McSMITH**, a Democrat, who was appointed to fill a vacancy in 1959 and served for one term.

CALIFORNIA: In January, San Franciscan DORIS M. WARD was sworn in as the first black president of the city's 11 member board of supervisors. A Democrat, Ward is an 11 year veteran of the board, which currently has one other black member, WILLIE KENNEDY.

During her tenure on the board, Ward has served on several committees, including Health, Civil Service, Finance, and Land Use. She currently chairs the Economic and Social Policy committees. Known for her expertise on land use, housing, and minority contracting, she has worked to retain affordable and low-income housing and is currently sponsoring the San Francisco Assisted Housing Preservation Ordinance. **Ward has sponsored legislation to bring cable television and telecommunications franchising to the city. She has cosponsored legislation to improve city contract opportunities for blacks and women and for rallying board support for legislation requiring the maintenance of statistics on hate crimes.**

ILLINOIS: After a campaign described as low-key, uneventful, and boring by members of the press, Chicago Mayor RICHARD M. DALEY glided to victory in the February 26 Democratic mayoral primary, claiming 63 percent of the vote. The 48-year old son of former mayor and Democratic Party machine boss RICHARD J. DALEY beat three opponents—black Cook County commissioner DANNY DAVIS, former mayor JANE BYRNE, and LYNDON LAROUCHE follower SHELIA JONES. Daley's victory almost assures him election on April 2 to his first full, four-year term as mayor. His current term began in April 1989 when he was elected to fill out the two years remaining to the late Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON, who died in November 1987, seven months into his second term. Washington was the city's first black mayor. Black Democratic alderman EUGENE SAWYER was elected interim mayor by the board of aldermen and he served from Washington's death to Daley's election.

Davis and Byrne, who were considered Daley's strongest opponents, received 30 percent and six percent of the vote, respectively. Pundits considered Byrne's bid an act of vengeance against Daley, whose 1983 mayoral campaign to gain her seat divided the white vote. That division, combined with Byrne's alienation of the black community and tremendous black support for Harold Washington, had led to Washington's victory.

Davis was an alderman for 11 years before being elected to the County Board of Commissioners in November. In December, a group of black political leaders, led by Democratic Congressman **GUS SAVAGE**, selected Davis as the consensus black candidate to challenge Daley. However, Daley received endorsements from prominent figures in the black community, including Rev. **CLAY EVANS**, the pastor of Fellowship Baptist Church, one of the city's largest and oldest black churches. Daley was also supported by some black business leaders, including **ALVIN BOUTTE**, board chairman of Independence Bank, and **CERILLO McSWEEN**, owner of a chain of McDonald's restaurants. McSween held a $200-a-plate breakfast in Daley's honor. These endorsements and Davis's lack of campaign and advertising funds made it difficult for him to consolidate support among black voters.

MELODY SPANN, news director at Chicago's WVON radio station, says that although Davis is well regarded among blacks, he is not charismatic. Historically, she says, black Chicagoans do not vote in great numbers, and the 1983 momentum built around Washington was "the exception, not the rule." Says Spann, "Daley will have to really do something terrible or offend the black community before blacks will come out in droves to defeat him or to elect another black mayor."

Daley will face two opponents in the April general election, both long shots: Republican city police sergeant **GEORGE GOTTLIEB** and retired federal judge and former Democrat **R. EUGENE PINCHAM**. Pincham is the candidate of the city's black alternative third party, the Harold Washington Party. (See January 1991 Focus, "Windy City's Controversial Third Party.")

Next Round for Voter Registration Reform

After Legislation Designed to Expand Voter Rolls Failed Last Year, a New Proposal Is Being Debated On and Off Capitol Hill

by Marsha Nye Adler

During last November's general election, the *New York Times* surveyed adults nationwide to create a profile of nonvoters. The *Times* found nothing new: as in the past, today's nonvoters are younger than their voting counterparts, more mobile, less likely to have attended college, and more apt to have incomes under $30,000. They do not have strong party feelings, and are fairly equally divided in their leanings toward Republican and Democratic candidates. Yet while the nonvoters' profile hasn't changed, their numbers have grown steadily over the past 30 years. They represented only about 36 percent of the eligible population in 1990, so that for every person who cast a ballot that year, two others passed up their voting right.

Legislation introduced in Congress last year to spur voter participation passed the House by a convincing margin, though it failed adoption by the Senate. This year, a similar bill, S. 250, has been put forward with bipartisan sponsorship in the Senate. Like its 101st Congress predecessor, S. 250 has detractors who fear fraud, the cost of reform, and infringement of states rights. Some within the civil rights community are wary that the bill would make it too easy for states to "purge" citizens from voter rolls. Nevertheless, political observers give this bill a better chance of passage than last year's proposal.

Turned Off or Turned Away?

The Senate bill deserves passage because, for all the attention paid to the psyche of the nonvoter, this bill addresses a simple and fixable problem directly linked to low participation: the difficulty of registering to vote. In survey after survey, the reason cited by most nonvoters for not going to the polls is that they were not registered. Seventy million Americans fit into that category, more than a third of the eligible pool.

There is strong, growing evidence that a large number of nonvoters are not just "turned off" but, rather, are being discouraged from voting. The percentage of registered people who actually vote is high—86 percent in 1988. If the participation of registered voters is so high, registration itself is clearly the key to raising turnout. In many areas, voter registration systems have changed little over the last century, growing increasingly out of sync with citizens' lives. In half the states, voters must register in person at designated sites, at appointed—and sometimes very limited—hours and days, and early, sometimes 30 days before an election. Often sites are open only when citizens must be somewhere else, generally at work or college some distance away. Many sites are hard to get to and hard to find. Registering to vote is, therefore, all too easy to put off or forget about entirely.

In addition, for the vast majority of citizens registering once is not enough. Voters who move must re-register. In today's transient society that affects more and more people, particularly those who are younger and poorer. Currently, all but eight states automatically cancel registration for failure to vote. All but six of the remaining 42 states purge voters from the rolls for failure to vote within a period of four years or less. Thus, even if an individual is still eligible and lives at the same address, he or she can be removed from the rolls. Almost half the states that purge fail to provide nonvoters with the forms they need to re-register, and many states do not notify people that they have been dropped from the list. These people may only learn of their status when they arrive to cast a ballot on election day, too late to re-register and participate.

The Key to Increased Turnout

As Minnesota, Nevada, and the District of Columbia are learning, the problem of low voter registration can be remedied through a series of simple, low-cost reforms. There is ample evidence that such measures as mail-in agency-based registration and election-day registration are working. In states that have introduced these changes both registration and turnout have improved.

By far the most effective technique for increasing voter registration is agency based. The most widespread agency-based method is the "motor voter" system, administered by motor vehicle departments. Motor voter programs add a response section on either the drivers license application form or the computerized questionnaire to allow the applicant to register to vote. In the most effective of these programs, such as those in Minnesota and the District of Columbia, agency staff, help applicants fill out the information.

The District of Columbia set a new turnout record in the

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Ms. Adler is project director of Extension Program Resources at the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. She was recently deputy director of public policy for People for the American Way.

Registration

(Continued from page 5)

1990 mid-term election, surpassing the presidential election turnout of 1988, after raising voter registration by 26 percent in the four years since 1986. More than 75 percent of the new registrations came from the District's newly implemented motor voter program. Emmett Fremaux, the director of Washington's elections board, says, "the fact that a new record has been set in a non-presidential year indicates that a fundamental increase in voter registration has occurred in the District."

Four states that have used similar means have increased their turnout dramatically. Nevada, which in 1986 ranked near the bottom in participation, registered 54,000 new voters in 1990 through its newly instituted motor voter program. It raised turnout by two percent in what would ordinarily have been expected to be a classic low-turnout election, one with no statewide races. North Carolina registered 84,000 voters in 1990, raising turnout from 1986 by 20 percent. In Minnesota the combination of election-day, motor voter, agency-based, and mail-in registration has assured nearly 90 percent registration and an increase in turnout from 1986 of 25 percent. Another election-day registration state, Maine, raised its turnout between 1986 and the 1990 election by 13 percent after adding a motor voter program of its own.

Making Reforms Universal

It is on these successful state programs that congressional legislation has been modeled. In February, 1990, the U.S. House of Representatives voted 289 to 132 to require states to institute motor voter, agency-based, and mail-in registration. The bill also required a guarantee that the purging of voter rolls would be nondiscriminatory. The Senate considered its version of the legislation this past September, but end-of-Congress maneuvering blocked a floor vote. On January 23, 1991, Senators Wendell Ford (D-Ky.) and Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) introduced S. 250, the National Voter Registration Act, and pledged to move the bill in the first months of the session. A House bill, similar to the one the House passed last year, is expected to be introduced in late March or early April.

One key provision of the Senate bill is that voter registration would become automatic for people applying for a drivers license or a photo I.D. card at state motor vehicle departments. While 13 states currently have some motor voter program, only the federal legislation offers this feature of automatic registration. The Senate bill also requires states to make registration forms widely available and for government employees to provide assistance in completing the forms. The bill includes agency-based registration at public schools, libraries, and vocational rehabilitation centers, as well as at government offices such as welfare and unemployment agencies. Mail registration, now available in half the states, would be expanded to all of them. Mail-in forms must be made available for public and private sector distribution, and states may be required to adopt a uniform federal application form. Registrants must not be required to notarize their applications, and strong penalties would be levied for harassment and fraud. The bill provides for recovery of attorneys' fees and costs.

Finally, S. 250 prohibits purging names from voter rolls because of nonvoting. Voters could only be removed from the rolls if they had died, moved, or had become ineligible for other reasons. The measure allows for cleaning of voter lists only when conducted in a uniform and non-discriminatory manner, and prohibits list cleaning within 60 days of a federal election. Both political parties have already voiced full support for this 60-day provision.

There remain some questions about the method of notifying voters who appear to have moved, and about how to protect the rights of voters who have inadvertently been removed from the rolls. Congressional leaders are working toward a consensus on the most effective registration mechanism with the greatest protections for voters.

Fear of Fraud

Perhaps the most potent argument opponents have raised has been that opening the system would create new opportunities for election fraud. Attacking reforms like election-day registration, for example, anti-immigration groups have raised the specter of thousands of unqualified voters descending on the polls and changing the outcome of elections. Yet in the three states that have instituted election day sign-up—Minnesota, Maine, and Wisconsin—there has been no rise in voter fraud. Studies of states that have instituted other reforms included in the federal bills show no increase in fraud by voters or election officials. Agency-based registration is also the most fraud-proof because registering agencies already require extensive documentation for licenses and benefits.

Election officials have been uneasy about the cost of reforms, but in the states that have them, new programs are inexpensive to administer. With statewide computerization of offices, the cost is minimal. Washington State estimates that registering voters through its fully computerized system will cost just 50 cents for each new registrant.

Even in jurisdictions such as Minnesota, Nevada, Colorado, and the District of Columbia, which do not use computerized systems in their highly effective motor voter programs, the cost is similarly low. Minnesota estimates that it spends 35 cents for each transaction. The District of Columbia's estimated cost is just three cents per voter. Congressional sponsors of reform legislation are considering ways to defray the cost of the federal program through grants and postal rate savings.

Opponents of federally mandated voter registration reform often fall back on the argument that elections and registration are traditionally state functions on which Congress should not legislate. Through the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and other legislation, however, Congress has been given the right to regulate in areas where there is a clear

(Continued on back page)

Keeping History as Important as Making It

Black Officials Must Take Responsibility for Contributing to American Political History by Preserving Their Papers and Political Memorabilia

by Auriel Pilgrim

Joseph Hayne Rainey, elected in 1870 from South Carolina, was the first black person to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives. But although he served four full terms in Congress, little is known about this American political pioneer. There are no firsthand accounts of how he entered politics, became affiliated with the Republican Party, or was selected to run for office. Of his personal correspondence, only one letter has been passed down. No other original documents have survived. The same is generally true of the 22 other black members of Congress who served during the late 19th century. Moreover, during that period almost no institutions served as repositories for such materials.

Primary source documentation of the achievements of other black Americans who have played important political roles is similarly incomplete. P. J. Gibbs, author of *Black Collectibles Sold in America*, notes that "items such as pamphlets about black socialists in the 1930s and 1940s or black candidates for local, state, and national offices prior to the 1950s and 1960s are very scarce. Most of the political items come from the 1960s, which marked a time of political upheaval in the United States for blacks and whites. Although these items are of recent vintage, they are extremely scarce and expensive. . . ."

By documenting their own march through the political process, officials can play a vital role in preserving America's black political heritage. But too often, the position papers, speeches, buttons, posters, bumper stickers, and other campaign accouterments of black candidates and officials are scattered and lost. The same fate has attended their official papers recording their subsequent conduct and accomplishments in office. It is important that they keep records of everything from the outset of their careers, both as markers for those who follow them in public service and to preserve the authenticity of the historical record.

Safeguarding Primary Source Material

History cannot be left solely to historians, political scientists, and journalists. The interpretations found in their works, while essential, will always reflect the bias of the author. The only objective check on those biases must come from reference to the original documents of political events, including official papers. Correspondence, scrapbooks, awards, press releases, inaugural memorabilia, appointment calendars, planning papers, diaries, minutes from important meetings, and copies of legal and financial documents are invaluable. They must be saved and archived. Likewise, photographs and audio and video tapes of meetings and other events must be saved. To help achieve this end, officials should label—with dates, full names, and titles—all their materials. If there is some question as to an item's historical value, it is best to keep the item and leave the decision to the archivists or librarians who will be ultimately responsible for preserving the collection. (Of course, restrictions can be placed on the use of sensitive material.) The more information a collection provides, the more valuable the collection is.

Preserving or archiving documents is just as important as collecting them. Many sources may be consulted for assistance: local universities and public librarians, state archivists, and national repositories such as the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, all in Washington, D.C., or the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University in New Orleans. The deciding factors in choosing where to send materials should be an institution's commitment to preserving materials and to making them available to researchers.

Stronger efforts to collect and preserve black political documents are especially needed at the city, state, and regional levels. The weekly batch of news articles received at the Joint Center indicates that black political figures are making significant breakthroughs at these levels. November 1990 saw several historic electoral victories, including the election of the first black Republican to statewide office in Oklahoma, J.C. Watts, now the state's corporation commissioner; the first black woman state senator in Tennessee's history, Thelma Harper; and the first black elected to the statewide office of Clerk of Indiana's supreme court and court of appeals, Dwayne M. Brown. In January of this year, Daniel Blue became North Carolina's first black house speaker. He was sworn into his new office by Judge Henry E. Frye, North Carolina's first black state supreme court justice.

The responsibility for ensuring that tomorrow's history books accurately recount today's political events starts with black public officials themselves. They can play an important part in the preservation of black history by supporting public funding of institutions that house black collections in their local communities; by collecting documentation of their own experiences in office; and by contributing to biographies and authoring autobiographical works. Responsibly serving the people must be viewed as including the duty to preserve black history itself. ■

Ms. Pilgrim is director of Information Resources at the Joint Center.

Registration

(Continued from page 6)

national interest, and especially where there is a differential impact on groups within the population, particularly on minorities. This right obviously applies in the case of voter registration, and presents the most compelling argument of all for federally mandated reform.

Current practices in most states have the effect of discriminating against certain groups of potential voters—those who move often, students, disabled and elderly people—by requiring them to register in person at offices with restricted hours. Even states with mail registration often add requirements, such as notarizing the application, that further complicate the process.

Motor voter, agency-based, or mail-in registration systems would allow constant updating of registration and residence, keeping a much larger number of voters on the rolls. Coupled with reciprocity among political jurisdictions, these systems could virtually eliminate the problem of voters' being erroneously dropped from the rolls. More importantly, they could significantly cut the cost of keeping voter lists current.

The Fight for Congressional Approval

The prospects for Senate passage of S. 250 seem brighter this year than last. In the 101st Congress, the voter registration reform bill had no Republican cosponsors and meager Republican support in the Senate. But the current bill is cosponsored by Republican Senators Mark Hatfield and David Durenberger of Minnesota and they are expected to be joined by other GOP colleagues.

While the White House indicated during the last Congress that it had some problems with the reform legislation, it never threatened a veto. Nevertheless, the White House may have been behind the Senate Republican opposition that blocked a floor vote, and it may try to play a similar role in the 102nd Congress. With the current Republican cosponsors of S. 250, such a strategy would be less successful this time.

Support for the legislation has grown as the urgency of reform and the possibility of passage have increased. Public interest groups, including "good government" groups and civil rights and civil liberties organizations, as well as groups representing women and the disabled, have joined with religious organizations, labor unions, student groups, and education associations to endorse it. The bill is also supported by the National Association of Secretaries of State and by the U.S. Conference of Mayors. On March 1, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights added passage of S. 250 to its list of high priorities.

Among reform supporters, the chief remaining issue concerns which mechanism would be established for the cleaning of lists. During last year's discussions, a number of civil rights groups were wary of list-cleaning provisions added to gain the support of Republicans and conservative Democrats. Their concerns and efforts, borne of decades of negative experiences with election officials seeking to limit minority access to the ballot, resulted in considerable tightening of the language and added protections in the purge provision.

The Senate Rules and Administration Committee scheduled hearings for March 21 and April 10. The committee chairman, Sen. Wendell Ford, has said he intends to consider possible amendments and to review recent registration and election research. Remaining differences over the list-cleaning provisions are expected to be addressed so the committee can proceed to its April 17 mark-up of the bill followed by immediate floor action.

On and off Capitol Hill, there is a growing consensus that the reform of voter registration will be the most important political empowerment weapon of the 1990s. There is also growing confidence that a federal bill will be completed in the 102nd Congress, marking another victory in the decades-old struggle for voting rights. ■

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Black Economic Advancement: New Goals for a New Decade

As Discrimination Continues to Plague Our Society, Black Economic Empowerment Remains on the Nation's Unfinished Civil Rights Agenda

The Downside of Downsizing the Military

Plans for Massive Cuts in Military Personnel Will Strain the Economy and Reduce Opportunities for Black Americans

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Perspective

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Black Economic Advancement: New Goals for a New Decade

by Eddie N. Williams

When scholars and analysts assess the second half of the twentieth century and probe as far into the next century as their skills will allow, few issues will loom larger than race relations as a defining force in our national character.

On the one hand, history books will surely speak of what is fairly seen as a social revolution over the past fifty years. Through the powers of law, politics, and moral suasion, walls of segregation have been razed and most racial barriers have been shattered. From the desegregation of public schools in 1954 to the election of the first election of a black governor in 1989, we have witnessed developments that once were dreams deferred.

On the other hand, history books that chronicle success must also sound a warning about the problems that lie ahead. Nowhere is this warning more vividly expressed than in the National Academy of Sciences report, *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society,* which concludes on these two somber notes: "significant discrimination against blacks is still a feature of American society" and "barring unforeseen events or policy changes, the future status of black Americans will continue to stagnate and decline, with tragic consequences for blacks and for American society."

This dire warning is based on the many problems that remain unsolved, including poverty, joblessness, drug abuse, teenage parenthood, and low levels of educational achievement, especially among young black males. Despite a growing black middle class and the advance of a number of blacks into the economic mainstream, blacks lag behind whites in all economic areas, and the general economic condition of the black community is deteriorating.

There are no quick solutions to these complex problems; nor is there a single way to address them. However, economic stability and advancement bear a critical relationship to each of these problem areas. If blacks were better off economically, it stands to reason that they would be better off socially as well.

It is not surprising, therefore, that strengthening the role of blacks in the American economy is widely viewed as the nation's most important unfinished civil rights agenda. Indeed, the economic advancement of black Americans must become the new cutting edge in our pursuit of racial justice. With our national economy ailing, one might argue that this is not a good time for black Americans to push for economic empowerment. After all, most civil rights gains have come during periods when the economy was strong. Nevertheless, the circumstances are different today. Corporate and government leaders are slowly recognizing that it is in the national interest for blacks to become a significant boost for the economy rather than a drag on it.

There are at least two incentives for the nation to vigorously pursue black economic empowerment now. One is the rising chorus of black voices demanding a bigger slice of the nation's economic pie. A second incentive comes from the competition we face from Japan, Germany, and, beginning in 1992, the European Community. In the face of this competition and our acknowledged declining productivity, rising unemployment, and nagging federal deficit, the nation can ill afford to ignore the economic potential inherent in its black population (and its Hispanic population as well) which comprises a greater proportion of the national labor force with each year that passes.

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Since blacks' economic interests are the same as the nation's economic interests, namely productivity, competitiveness, and profitability, it would seem that for pragmatic reasons, if not for moral reasons, corporate and government leaders should promote the economic advancement of black Americans. Thus, what is good for blacks would also profit the society as a whole—a not insignificant convergence of interests.

> ***Strengthening the role of blacks in the American economy is widely viewed as the nation's most important unfinished civil rights agenda. Indeed, the economic advancement of black Americans must become the new cutting edge in our pursuit of racial justice . . . Corporate and government leaders are slowly recognizing that it is in the national interest for blacks to become a significant boost for the economy rather than a drag on it.***

There are several strategies blacks themselves can pursue to accelerate their advancement. The first—and the most obvious—is to substantially increase their levels of educational involvement, attainment, and achievement. Too many blacks are losing the battle for better jobs and incomes before they ever get to the labor market because of soaring school drop-out rates and poor educational performance. Education and training are the primary vehicles for upward mobility in our society. We must insist on the best educational systems that government can provide. We must also insist on a new attitude among our young people that embraces educational excellence and intellectual competitiveness.

Second, we must make a stronger commitment to black entrepreneurship and to investing more capital in black-owned business ventures. All around us are a growing number of successful black businessmen and -women and a much larger pool of aspiring entrepreneurs. We need to support their enterprises and their aspirations and to press for an end to the obstacles that impede the development of viable black-owned establishments.

The third strategy follows naturally from the first two. With better jobs, better earnings, and more prosperous businesses, we will also increase the buying power of black consumers. Blacks must use that increased purchasing power, and the increased political clout that comes with it, to put a larger goal squarely on the public agenda: wiping out poverty.

Fourth, black leaders must become major players on the economic stage. They must fully understand and engage the rapidly evolving new economic order in all its complexity. Succeeding in this new environment requires identifying specific objectives and fashioning strategies to achieve them.

Fifth, blacks must strengthen and expand their self-help initiatives. Many of today's problems—family disintegration, drug abuse, crime—must be addressed by blacks themselves in concert with government action. Our rich tradition of self help, which dates back to our African heritage, is alive today in thousands of efforts sponsored by our churches, our sororities and fraternities, and our civic, service, and social organizations. Blacks must expand these efforts to the benefit of their community and nation.

Sixth, we must continue to press ahead on the political front where impressive victories already have been won. Since 1965, the number of black elected officials has grown from around 300 to over 7,500. They serve their constituencies in Congress and at the state, local, and county levels. As the number of black elected officials has grown, we have witnessed an increase in the number of blacks competing for public office at all levels, including an unprecedented number elected in predominantly white jurisdictions. Some recent victors are well-known: Governor L. Douglas Wilder in Virginia, Mayor David N. Dinkins in New York. Less well known nationally are Illinois Attorney General Roland Burris, Oklahoma Corporation Commissioner J.C. Watts, and Judge Morris Overstreet of the Texas State Court of Criminal Appeals.

Good politics often makes strange bedfellows. So blacks must be open to coalition partnerships from every quarter: business and labor, the Democratic and Republican parties, liberals and conservatives, other minorities, and women. A critical and urgent challenge for African-Americans today is to seek common cause with Hispanics, Asian-Americans, and Jews who share similar values and aspirations.

Black economic advancement depends not only on self-help and individual initiative but on sound public policies as well. Black economic progress, therefore, is inseparable from continued political progress.

This brings me to the seventh strategy: we must not let government off the hook. The Reagan revolution must be overturned. A fundamental and abiding truth is that the American government should be an active agent for improving the quality of life for *all* its people and for responding to community needs in times of crisis. Therefore, even in the face of huge budget deficits and large budget cuts, the people in need—farmers, children, veterans, immigrants, students, the elderly, small businessmen, minorities—should continue to be the focus of special attention and funding from government. The social and economic crisis in the black community today deserves no less attention. ■

The Downside of Downsizing the Military

Plans for Massive Cuts in Military Personnel Will Strain the Economy and Reduce Opportunities for Black Americans

by Michael Shane

Last September, the West German government agreed to pay the Soviet Union $8 billion for the movement, resettlement, and retraining of some 360,000 Soviet troops stationed in what was then East Germany. The U.S.S.R. was thinking ahead and looking for ways to ease the trauma of shifting this mass of people from military to civilian employment in an already weak economy.

Here in the United States, as our own forces return from the Persian Gulf and the military is required to make similar cutbacks, it is ironic that we find ourselves with much the same problem as the Soviets. Both the government and the private sector should be making plans to accommodate the large influx of Americans who will be trading desert fatigues for business suits and blue collars.

As a result of the "end of the Cold War," including *glasnost* in the Soviet Union, political changes in Eastern Europe, and progress in strategic and conventional arms reduction, Congress and the Bush administration decided to reduce active duty personnel strength by over 500,000 by the middle of this decade. Each branch of the U.S. military will be cut significantly. While the reduction will cause jobs to disappear for military personnel of all races, blacks in uniform will be forced into a civilian job market that is decidedly less friendly to them than to others. Work must begin now to insure that once the "welcome home" parades are over, those displaced by this downsizing can be absorbed into the civilian work force.

Last fall, General Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated that prior to the crisis in the Persian Gulf he had been pressured by black leaders who were concerned that restructuring and downsizing the military would squeeze out opportunities for black Americans. In October, Lieutenant General Donald W. Jones, the deputy assistant secretary of defense for military manpower and personnel policy, briefed NAACP officials (at their request) on the impact the draw-down would have on African-Americans. Iraq's August invasion of Kuwait and the resultant operations "Desert Shield" and "Desert Storm" supplanted concern over the draw-down with alarm that blacks were disproportionately represented in combat units. The economic impact of troop reductions was temporarily lost in desert sands and political rhetoric. Now that Desert Storm is all but concluded, it is necessary to reexamine the consequences of the downsizing plan.

Trimming the Budget

The Department of Defense (DoD) FY92 budget projects a 25 percent reduction in active-duty military forces (from 2.1 million to 1.58 million) by 1995-96. Since blacks comprise 20 percent of the military and are likely to remain at that level, at least 100,000 fewer blacks can be expected to be on active duty five years from now. That projection could be even higher because the Army, which has the largest percentage of blacks (29 percent compared to 16 percent for the Navy, 15 percent for the Air Force, and 19 percent for the Marine Corps) is currently slated for the largest cut—214,000 troops or 28.5 percent. Thus, the number of blacks on active duty in all branches of the service could be reduced by as many as 110,000.

With the end of Desert Storm, a substantial exodus will take place within the next few months. Most reservists and National Guard members are likely to return to civilian jobs waiting for them. But there will also be a larger than normal number of active duty separations from the services, and these people will be looking for new employment. This surge of departures will occur because normal retirements and discharges were delayed during the Persian Gulf crisis. In the Army, for example, these so-called "Stop Loss" provisions applied to some 32,000 soldiers (over 9,000 of whom may be black) who, having been held past their discharge or retirement dates, must now be quickly released.

All of this, added to normally heavy summer discharges, means a larger than usual group of ex-service members will be trying to enter the civilian labor force this summer. With the recession already pushing unemployment to 6.8 percent, its highest level in four years, these veterans will be coming home to a weak job market.

Lost Opportunities for Youths

The reductions agreed upon by the Bush administration and Congress are slated to occur between fiscal years 1992 and 1996. The Defense Department does not plan to accomplish this reduction by summarily discharging over half a million service members. In briefing the NAACP, the Department's representative stated that the reduction would be accomplished "without forced separations, where possible." DoD plans to achieve 60 to 80 percent of the draw-down by "reducing accessions," that is, by cutting back on the number of people recruited into the services. "Voluntary releases" (normal separations after fixed terms

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U.S. Army Colonel Michael Shane is a senior military fellow at the Joint Center.

April 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **The number of black women in politics is increasing at a faster rate than that of any other group in American politics.**
- **The controversy over federal scholarships for minorities has been revived as the Department of Education gets a new chief.**
- **A new commission has been formed to investigate the crisis of black males in society.**
- **Across the Nation: Richard Hatcher attempts a comeback as mayor of Gary; and the mayoral race heats up in Philadelphia.**

Black Women Are Fastest Growing Group in Politics

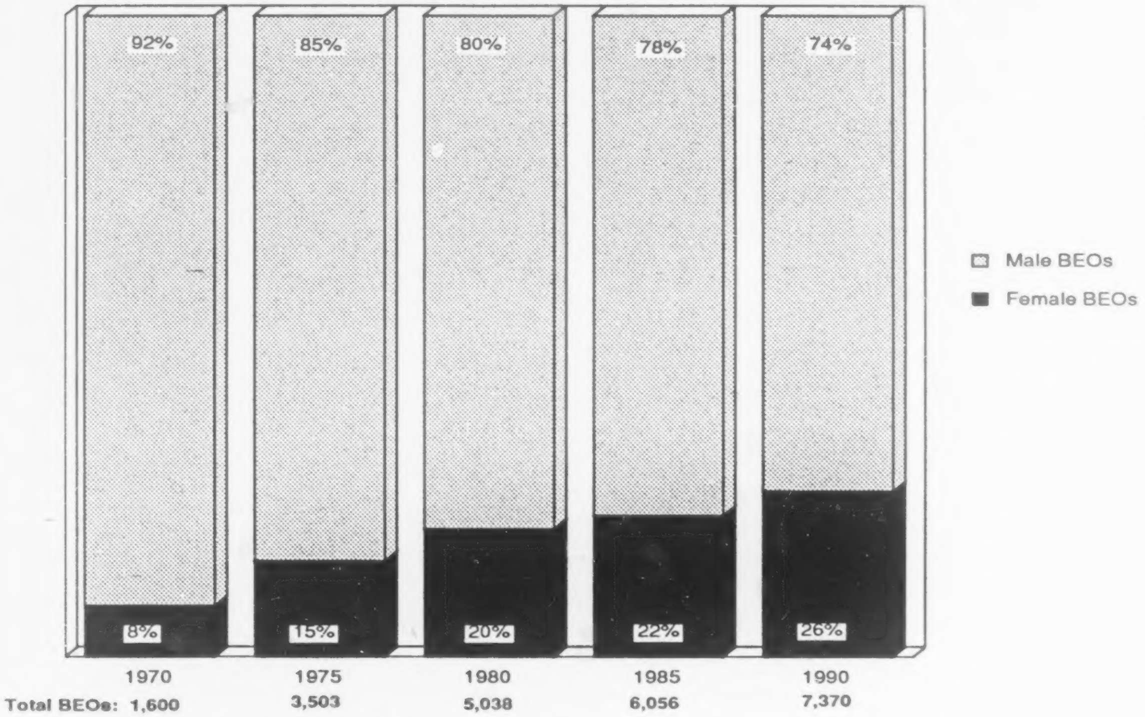
In electoral politics, black women now constitute the fastest-growing group, according to data compiled over the past two decades by the Joint Center. "The increase in the number of blacks winning election to public office is a real success story," says the Joint Center's president EDDIE N. WILLIAMS. "An even bigger success story is the rising level of achievement among black women in politics. Just two examples are the elections of mayors SHARON PRATT DIXON in Washington, D.C., and CARRIE PERRY in Hartford, Connecticut, which have brought black women into the arena of big city leadership."

Since 1970, the overall number of black women elected to local, county, state, and congressional offices has risen from 131 to 1,950. In 1970, only one out of every 12 black elected officials was a woman; today the ratio is one out of four. In state elective offices overall, black women constitute about 26 percent of all black elected officials. In 1976, just 38 state legislators were black women. As of 1989, that figure had grown to 96—78 state assembly members and 18 senators. And the numbers are still growing: in the 1990 elections, 33 of the 70 newly elected black state legislators—or nearly half—were women.

This growth is likely to continue. Women now make up about 37 percent of all BEOs on school boards, which are traditionally "entry-level" political positions; many of these female board members are likely to move up to higher levels of office over time.

Black women have already been moving into positions of greater influence within the elected bodies on which they already serve. Two examples in California are State Senator DIANA WATSON and Representative GWEN MOORE, who chair the committees on Health and Human Services and on Utilities and Commerce, respectively. In Alabama, the Committee on the Constitution and Elections is chaired by State Representative BOBBIE MCDOWELL. And in Michigan, representative TEOLA HUNTER chairs the Economic Development and Energy Committee and is speaker pro tempore of the state house.

Greater power is also accruing to black women within their local, state, and national party structures. This is putting them in a strong position for future advancement. In Texas, blacks are the Democratic party committeewomen in six districts and a black woman is vice chair of the state party. Half of the seats on the black caucus of the Democratic National Committee are held by black women, giving them an equal voice with black men within their party'sdecision-making body. Williams concludes, "The impressive political achievements of black women reflect their longstanding prominent role within the black community and their extraordinary commitment to public service. As black Americans continue to expand their role in the nation's political mainstream, black women are becoming a highly visible and increasingly influential part of that leadership."



Growth in the Proportion of Women Among Black Elected Officials, 1970-1990

Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Inc.

Federal Minority Scholarships: Act II

On March 20, just days after being sworn in as Secretary of Education, former Republican governor of Tennessee LAMAR ALEXANDER announced in a news conference that he will initiate new federal guidelines on awarding scholarships that assist minority college students. The guidelines will be issued following a review of the department's current scholarship policies.

Last December, the Education Department's assistant secretary for civil rights, **MICHAEL WILLIAMS**, stirred up a major controversy when he wrote a letter to organizers of the Fiesta Bowl football game in Tempe, Arizona, who intended to contribute $200,000 for the two schools that played in the New Years Day game, declaring that minority scholarships were illegal. Williams, who is black, charged that "race-exclusive" scholarships violate Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and warned that colleges which continue to award such scholarships would be denied federal funds. The letter immediately raised the ire of the higher education community—including college presidents and financial aid administrators as well as parents and students.

Financial aid officers oppose Williams' letter ruling because it places a cloud over the legality of scholarship programs already run by thousands of academic institutions. Some university administrators have attacked the premise of Williams' letter—that scholarships which benefit minorities are indeed "race-exclusive." To examine the nature of these programs, the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU) surveyed its 826 member schools in December. The survey showed that most scholarship programs use a variety of reward criteria apart from race, including financial need and academic merit. It found that only 13.7 percent of the scholarship programs and 2.8 percent of student aid fund could be considered purely race based. In an attempt at damage control, the Bush administration has modified Williams' decision by permitting federally assisted universities to administer "restricted scholarships" earmarked for minorities as long as funds come from private sources and are not financed out of the institutions' general aid moneys. That move, however, did not quell the storm.

Alexander has said that the current uncertainty about the policy exists because the department's decisions have been rare and inconsistent during the past decade. He has stated that one goal of his policy review is to clear up confusion about the extent to which a student's race or national origin may be considered in awarding financial aid. At his March press conference, Alexander said his review would include a survey of colleges and universities to determine the features and rationales of existing financial aid programs that consider race or national origin. Views from the academic community and other interested parties will also be considered in the review. Alexander predicted that the review process, which will be conducted in consultation with the Justice Department, will take about six months. When finished, new Education Department guidelines will be published and distributed to colleges and universities. Final decisions on pending disputes over scholarship awards to minorities have been postponed until the new guidelines are issued.

Meanwhile, a new player in the controversy surfaced during congressional hearings conducted on March 19 and 20 by the House Government Operations Subcommittee on Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations. The subcommittee learned that Williams was not the originator of the letter in the first place, but that Deputy Assistant Secretary of Education RICHARD D. KOMER, who is white, was the moving force behind its release. The House panel also discovered that the Education Department began to develop the scholarship policy during the Reagan administration with input from some right-wing organizations, including the Washington Legal Foundation. Komer initially refused to appear before the subcommittee and was subsequently forced to reveal his role in the policy decision under congressional subpoena.

Commission to Address Problems of Black Men

New York City Mayor DAVID N. DINKINS, Virginia Governor L. DOUGLAS WILDER, U.S. Senator TERRY SANFORD of North Carolina, and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Chairman ARTHUR FLETCHER have joined with other political leaders to establish the 21st Century Commission on African American Males, which will assist Congress in developing a national policy for addressing the crisis facing black men in this country. In March, U.S. Senator DON RIEGLE (D-Mich.), one of the commission's honorary board members, convened a roundtable hearing on the issue before the housing and urban affairs subcommittee of the Senate Banking Committee. The crisis was framed in grim testimony to the subcommittee: black males have the lowest life expectancy of any group in the United States; their unemployment rate is more than twice as high as that of white males; black men with college degrees are three times more likely to be unemployed than their white counterparts; approximately one in four black men between the ages of 20 and 29 is behind bars, and they receive longer prison sentences than whites who have committed the same crimes. Closely related to the crisis is the 20 percent decrease in marriages among black couples over the last 20 years.

A second hearing has been scheduled by the subcommittee in conjunction with the commission's "National Conference on the Crisis Status of Black Males in America," to be held May 22 to 25 in Washington. According to **KATHY WELLMAN**, executive director of the 30-member bipartisan commission, the May conference will bring together elected officials, civic leaders, educators, corporate executives, and foundation representatives to develop a national policy initiative consisting of achievable recommendations for mitigating the problems confronting the black male. "Clearly this is not a black problem but a national concern, and that is why the goal is for a national policy initiative," said Wellman. She said that in addition to the second congressional hearing convened by Riegle, the conference will feature 11 panels, including education, health care, black family life, employment, and drugs. After the conference, the commission members will continue to meet to develop recommendations.

In looking at the problem, Senator Sanford noted, it is important to remember the other side of the picture. He reminded participants at the March hearing that 75 percent of black men aged 20 to 29 have not had serious encounters with the law and approximately 56 percent of black males between the ages of 16 and 24 are gainfully employed. "In other words, the complete story of black males in this country is not one of failure. The level of success exceeds the level of failure," said Sanford. He continued, "It is toward these success stories that public policymakers must look if we are to frame policies to reduce those environmental factors which threaten the growth and development of future generations of young black males."

In his testimony at the March hearing, Joint Center president Eddie N. Williams, a member of the commission's board, said "I personally would not expect that there would ever be a policy for young black males; but rather that public policies dealing with employment and education, forexample, will acknowledge and be sensitive to the problems of young black males as we try to formulate our programmatic solutions."

Across the Nation

INDIANA: One of the nation's first black mayors of a major city, RICHARD HATCHER, is trying to regain his position as mayor of Gary. In the May 7 Democratic primary, Hatcher must face one-term incumbent THOMAS BARNES, who is also black, as well as seven other candidates.

Barnes was a Hatcher ally during the former mayor's 20 years in office. But the two became embroiled in a bitter election primary in 1987, in which Barnes prevailed. Hatcher has said his bid to regain the mayorship is not motivated by revenge but is an effort to return the city to better times. The biggest campaign issue is how to revive the city's economy. The community is divided over a proposal to raise new revenue by allowing casino gambling, an idea that Barnes, alone among the candidates, publicly supports. Hatcher has criticized Barnes for failing to implement an economic development plan, charging "not a house has been built, not a brick has been laid" since Hatcher left office in 1987.

Barnes supporters counter that Hatcher himself was ousted in 1987 because of his 20 years of ineffectiveness, and that one term has not given Barnes enough time to repair the harm done to the city during the Hatcher years.

A white Democratic candidate, **SCOTT KING**, is also running. A political newcomer, King is a former state and federal prosecutor who cites the need for economic development and more efficient management of city hall as his reasons for seeking the mayor's seat. He says "City hall must be revamped to operate like a business and not like a political organization." If elected, King said he plans to reorganize the police department and the school board and attract private investment for development. King claims to have attracted a silent following in the black community, but he has yet to receive a major black endorsement.

PENNSYLVANIA: Eight candidates—three black and five white—are vying for the seat of two-term black Philadelphia mayor WILSON GOODE in the city's hotly contested May 21 primary. Goode is prevented by law from running for a third term. Among the black candidates are LUCIEN BLACKWELL, a former city councilman and union leader; GEORGE R. BURRELL, JR., a city councilman and attorney; and JAMES S. WHITE, former city managing director. In addition, the Democratic contest includes two white candidates, former two-term district attorney EDWARD RENDELL and PETER HEARN, a millionaire attorney who had been the chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association.

Among the Republican contenders is **RONALD CASTILLE**, who resigned as district attorney before announcing his candidacy. Castille has been endorsed by the Republican Party leadership and seems to have the inside track to that party's nomination. Another GOP hopeful is municipal financial consultant and former liberal Democrat **SAM KATZ**, who switched parties to run for mayor. Finally, there is Democrat turned Republican **FRANK RIZZO**, former police commissioner and two-term mayor. Rizzo, who has strong support among white ethnics and blue collar workers, gained a reputation for being hostile to blacks during his tenure as mayor from 1971 to 1979.

As the campaign stands now, Goode appears likely to be succeeded by a white mayor. Among the Democrats, Rendell has taken a strong lead in the opinion polls. Furthermore, the three black candidates in the race are certain to split the black vote (the city is 40 percent black). Rendell has been a Pennsylvania special prosecutor and in 1986 was a gubernatorial candidate. Although he's popular among both white and black Democrats and has been endorsed by black state senator **HARDY WILLIAMS**, Rendell is not a shoe-in. Many blacks have not forgiven him for reneging on his promise not to run against Goode in the 1987 primary.

Blackwell and Burrell, who are considered the leading black candidates, appeal to very different segments of the black community. Blackwell's reputation is as a street-savvy, grass-roots politician who has been on the city's political scene for a long time. A former state senator, he served 17 years on the city council and is in his 18th year as president of the International Longshoremen's Association, Local 332. Through the years, Blackwell has developed rock-solid working class backing in the black community, but opponents warn that in the general election he wouldn't attract white cross-over votes .

Burrell, by contrast, is a corporate attorney who served two years on the city council and was deputy mayor from 1980 to 1983. He stakes his hopes on the multiracial coalition that brought Goode into office. He has been endorsed by powerful black Philadelphia congressman **WILLIAM H. GRAY** and by other established black political figures. Despite these assets, polls indicate that his candidacy hasn't caught on with many voters. Whoever becomes mayor will have to deal with Philadelphia's monumental fiscal crisis—the one issue that has dominated the campaign. The city has been on the brink of bankruptcy for the past year and its projected budget deficit for the next fiscal year is $230 million.

The conventional wisdom is that in this heavily Democratic city, a candidate from the reigning party will prevail in November. But there is also talk that primary losers from either or both parties might run in the general election as independent candidates. If that happens, all bets are off.

of service) and early retirements would account for another 15 to 25 percent. And only 10 to 30 percent of the cutback would be accomplished by a reduction in force (RIF) or "forced separations."

Those most affected will therefore be young people coming out of high school, many of whose predecessors looked to the military for their first full-time job opportunity. These youngsters are very employable, since the services have for the past several years accepted, almost exclusively, high school graduates who score well on standard military aptitude tests and who are unencumbered by arrest records or histories of serious alcohol or drug use. Yet, they traditionally face difficulty in entering the job market and experience higher unemployment than any other age group. The military draw-down and the current recession will further limit their options.

Helping Those Forced Out of Uniform

Rep. Beverly Byron (D-Md.), chair of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Personnel and Compensation, says, "I think it is important and critical how we treat our personnel after Desert Storm is over." She asks, "What do we do to help those personnel and what policies will [we] make for those people that have been called up and have gone willingly and served so very, very far away? What are we going to do to make sure that their families are protected and taken care of?"

Congress and the DoD have begun to provide for service members who will be forced to leave the military because of the draw-down. The 1991 National Defense Authorization Act (passed by Congress in October 1990) offers transition assistance in several areas. Officers forced to leave the service have always been eligible for a separation (severance) payment, but for the first time enlisted personnel will be eligible as well. The payments, which will vary by rank and years of service, would amount to approximately $18,000 for a mid-grade enlisted person with 10 years' service. Other separation benefits include access to temporary medical care, temporary commissary and post exchange privileges (military operated discount retail stores), and temporary government housing.

Unfortunately, these are only short-term measures. For the longer term, one of the most promising programs now being put together is the Army Career and Alumni Program, or ACAP. Linda White, ACAP Program Coordinator, says that services are currently available at seven pilot sites (five in the United States and one each in Germany and Korea) and will become on-line at more locations by the end of this summer. For soldiers leaving the Army, ACAP offers services such as job counseling and referrals through newly created Job Assistance Centers.

Army officials are also exploring arrangements with states and corporations, hopeful that through such agreements, separating soldiers can quickly be linked up with available civilian employment. The Army recently signed an agreement with the Florida Department of Education to expedite job referral and placement for new veterans in five areas of employment: transportation, health services, law enforcement, education services, and tourism.

Whether military service is viewed as either a positive or a negative, the fact remains that soon, well over 100,000 fewer black Americans will be employed as uniformed members of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines. They will be entering a job market that for now, at least, is decidedly inhospitable to them. Federal, state, and local governments, and especially potential employers, need to begin now to prepare for the coming dislocations. These Americans have already demonstrated their value as citizens and future employees. They must be given the same opportunities in civilian life they would have had in the military. This is doubly true for black Americans. ■

The views expressed here are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the policy or position of the U.S. Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. government.

Military Service and Opportunity

There are many budgetary benefits to the military reductions that have been agreed upon by Congress and the administration, including additional funds freed up for domestic spending, to name but one. But for thousands of black Americans currently serving in the military or looking ahead to military service as part of their career plans, the draw-down will reduce solid job opportunities and excellent prospects of upward mobility. Although it may be an indictment of the rest of the nation, the military is arguably the most integrated element of our society. Nowhere else has black leadership been accepted as fully or black accomplishment more greatly rewarded. The armed forces today represent the closest thing we have to a true "meritocracy."

In recent testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, General Powell stated, "I wish that there were other activities in our society and in our nation that were as open [to minorities] as the military is to upward mobility, to achievement, to allowing them in. I wish that corporate America, I wish the trade unions around the nation would show the same level of openness and opportunity to minorities that the military has."

Looking at salary alone, the military compares favorably with the civilian job market. According to a Congressional Budget Office study, the average 18-year-old who is employed full-time earns $800 to $1,000 a month. A private in the Army takes home about $700 a month but, when benefits are factored in—housing, meals, medical and dental care—that private's monthly compensation rises to over $1,600.

The general satisfaction that blacks feel with their careers and lifestyles in the military is most convincingly demonstrated by DoD reenlistment statistics. After their first term, 62 percent of blacks in the Army sign up for another stint. This rate is not only high in and of itself, it is also substantially higher than the reenlistment rate for any other ethnic group; Army reenlistment figures stand at 48 percent for Hispanic and 38 percent for whites. —***M.S.***

Black America and African Liberation

Second of Two Historical Articles on the Relationship Between Black Americans and Africa

by Walter C. Carrington

Throughout the twentieth century black Americans have fought for racial dignity on two fronts. While the major battle was at home against segregation and discrimination, a campaign was also waged on behalf of Africa, an ancestral homeland struggling to break the chains of colonial domination.

One man more than any other symbolized the two-pronged struggle —W.E.B. Du Bois, a founder of the N.A.A.C.P. and the main promulgator of the doctrine of Pan-Africanism. When he proclaimed in 1900 that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line" he defined a barrier that limited black aspirations in Africa as much as in America. Du Bois's urging of a cooperative—a Pan-African—effort to erase that line was the opening salvo of a century of struggle. Black Americans would explore many, often divergent, paths leading towards reconciliation with their African heritage. Some would attempt to influence U.S. foreign policy towards Africa, many would reclaim their African cultural roots, while others would seek to separate themselves from white America either by emigrating back to Africa or by creating "African" enclaves within the borders of the United States.

The progenitor of the policy of using black American pressure to lobby for the decolonization of Africa was W. E. B. Du Bois. A distinguished scholar and activist, hewas the first black to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard. His long and productive life began in America at the dawn of Reconstruction and ended in Ghana, 94 years later, on the very eve of the 1963 March on Washington.

At the end of World War I, Du Bois sought to turn Germany's loss into Africa's gain by freeing the German colonies. With the assistance of Blaise Diagne, the Senegalese member of the French parliament, he convened in Paris the first Pan-African Conference which was timed to parallel the post-war Peace Conference in 1919. It was attended mainly by blacks from the United States and the Caribbean who petitioned the Peace Conference in nearby Versailles through a series of anti-colonial resolutions.

Most demands on behalf of African nationalism fared no better with the victorious Allies than similar pleas by Kurds and Armenians for relief from Turkish and Russian rule. The one exception was the fate of the former German colonies. Du Bois and his fellow Pan-Africanists urged that they not be transferred to other colonial powers but instead be placed under international supervision. This led to the establishment of the Mandates Commission, under which the League of Nations kept South West Africa (now Namibia) from being incorporated into South Africa. Namibia, Cameroon, Togo, and Tanganyika were later transformed into Trust Territories under the United Nations.

The Raising of Mass Consciousness

While the Pan-African movement united black intellectuals in the Americas and Africa, it left the masses of blacks in the African diaspora largely unmoved. As the Pan-Africanists were convening in various European capitals during the 1920s, the condition of blacks in the United States was deteriorating, with white mob violence flaring up in Northern cities and Southern towns. It was during these desperate times that Marcus Garvey arrived from Jamaica in 1916 to become the greatest mass leader black America had yet known. His doctrine of "Africa for the Africans at home and abroad" quickly caught on. Garvey instilled pride of self and heritage and called for a return to Africa—of which he named himself provisional president. At the height of his influence, in the early 1920s, Garvey had a following of more than a million people. Had not the U.S. government successfully brought controversial mail fraud charges against him in 1923 and deported him in 1927, there is no telling how much stronger his movement might have grown during the Great Depression.

Garvey never got to Africa himself and his resettlement plans did not succeed, but he had a great impact on nationalist thought in Africa and on the views of ordinary black Americans toward their African roots. His book, *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey,* influenced a broad spectrum of African thinking. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, later wrote that of all the literature he had studied none did more to fire his enthusiasm for the liberation of his country than Garvey's *Philosophy.*

Organizing to Influence U.S. Policy

The consciousness about Africa that Garvey had resurrected among the black masses did not disappear with his deportation. The embers of that fire flamed up again in 1936 when Italy invaded Ethiopia. Racial pride erupted as never before when Emperor Haile Selassie stood before the League of Nations and warned of the holocaust that would

(Continued on next page)

Mr. Carrington, a consultant on international affairs at the Joint Center, is a former United States ambassador to Senegal.

come if the nations of the world did not aid his country and embargo Fascist Italy.

The Ethiopian war became the main topic of conversation wherever blacks gathered. Volunteers in America were recruited to go and fight alongside their African brothers. And in a championship boxing match that took on mythic proportions, Joe Louis's fists became instruments of vindication for a whole people when he delivered a beating to the Italian, Primo Carnera.

Over the next two and a half decades, several organizations would be formed to influence U.S. foreign policy. In 1937, Max Yergan, the first black faculty member of the City College of New York, organized the Council on African Affairs (CAA), the first black-led group dedicated to swaying American policy towards Africa. The Council, whose leadership included Paul Robeson, Ralph Bunche, Adam Clayton Powell, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Mordecai Johnson, worked closely with African nationalists and labor leaders and lobbied the U.S. government on their behalf. It paid special attention to South Africa and forged links with the African National Congress. The Council's potential was curtailed in the post-war years by the rise of McCarthyism and charges that it was a Soviet front.

Sensing once again the opportunities for African liberation offered by the conclusion of war—this time World War II—a fifth Pan-African conference, chaired by Du Bois, met in Manchester, England in 1945. It was attended by such future African heads of state as Nkrumah of Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, who used the meeting as a springboard for the independence movements which, over the next two decades, were to liberate their continent.

Anti-colonial agitation in Africa during the 1950s caught the attention of more and more American blacks. Many supported Kenya's Mau Mau rebellion and some emigrated to Ghana after independence in 1957. During that period, two important but short-lived groups emerged, the American Society for African Culture (AMSAC) and the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa (ANLCA). AMSAC was formed by American delegates at a 1956 conference of black intellectuals in Paris called by the francophone African magazine, *Presence Africain*. AMSAC brought important African leaders to the United States, held regular conferences on African issues, and published a leading journal, *African Forum*. The ANLCA was founded shortly afterwards as the foreign policy arm of a consortium of civil rights, church, and fraternal organizations. Through a Washington office it lobbied the White House, Congress, and the State Department.

Whereas the Council on African Affairs ran afoul of the anti-communist hysteria of the 1950s, AMSAC and ANLCA were undone by a reverse stigma of the 1960s. They were unable to survive revelations that they had accepted funding from the CIA. With the demise of ANLCA, African issues became less and less a matter of priority among mainstream civil rights organizations.

Linking Black Power and African Liberation

Through the 1960s and 1970s, then, it was not in the civil rights mainstream but in countless eddies of mass movements where black nationalism and Pan-Africanism were finding a revival. Responding to the death in 1961 of the charismatic young leader of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba, black nationalists who believed the United States had conspired in his overthrow and murder rioted at the United Nations. It was a watershed event. America's mainstream leaders, black and white, were taken aback by the passions Lumumba's death had unleashed.

Those same leaders were also slow to appreciate the mass appeal of a fiery young Muslim minister who called himself Malcolm X. In 1964, he made his pilgrimage to Mecca. While abroad he made his first visit to Africa and attended the meeting of the Organization of African Unity where he equated the racist practices of the United States with those of South Africa. So while the civil rights movement was turning the energies of black Americans inward and southward, the more militant among the young were flirting with nationalist and Pan-African concepts. Malcolm X had helped these youths to see the larger connection with Africa and to link the American struggle with that of people of color around the globe.

Embracing Malcolm X's ideas, militants took over the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) by electing Stokely Carmichael to replace John Lewis, the organization's more traditionally integrationist head. In 1966, the SNCC took up Carmichael's cry of "Black Power," with its powerful Pan-African connotations.

On another front, Robert Williams, a deposed NAACP leader in North Carolina who argued that blacks had the right to take up arms in self defense, returned from self-imposed exile in Africa to proclaim a new nation. He claimed the five Southern states with the largest black populations—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina—as "The Republic of New Africa."

Williams' hopes for a black nation in the Black Belt never got much beyond the dedication, in March 1971, of a parcel of land in Mississippi as "the first African capital of the northern Western Hemisphere." This effort to create an African nation within the borders of the United States was no more successful than the earlier attempts by Garvey and others to resettle blacks on African shores.

Challenging U.S. Policy

The passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 had moved the civil rights movement from the streets to the polling booths. A critical mass of blacks was now in the U.S. House of Representatives and, under the leadership of Democratic Congressman Charles Diggs of Detroit, organized the Congressional Black Caucus in 1970. Diggs himself had risen to the chairmanship of the House Subcommittee on African Affairs and had become the most important critic of U.S. policy on Africa.

In 1972, at Howard University, the Caucus sponsored the largest black American conference on Africa ever held in the United States. At the top of the agenda was the

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African Liberation

(Continued from page 7)

mobilization of black Americans to press for the elimination of white rule from Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

On the eve of the 1976 presidential election, Diggs convened the National Black Leadership Conference on Southern Africa during the Congressional Black Caucus's annual leadership weekend in September. The conference issued "The African-American Manifesto on Southern Africa," which called for the formation of a black lobby. Representatives of the assembled organizations pledged their financial support. Under the leadership of Randall Robinson, a former staff aide to Diggs who had organized student demonstrations on behalf of sanctions while at Harvard Law School, TransAfrica opened its doors in 1978.

Robinson quickly mobilized the black community to defeat efforts by conservative members of Congress to lift sanctions against the importation of Rhodesian chrome. He persuaded the leaders of nearly all of the major black organizations to go on record for sanctions and rallied black voters in key congressional districts. Sanctions were maintained and TransAfrica, in existence less than a year, was credited with engineering the first major foreign policy victory ever attributed to the direct political intervention of the American black community.

Drought and famine in West Africa had aroused black American concern as much as had the political problems of southern Africa. To address issues of relief and long-term development aid, another important Africa-oriented organization, Africare, was formed in 1971 by C. Payne Lucas, a former Peace Corps official. Working closely with the president of Niger, one of the drought-stricken countries, Lucas began a relief effort centered in the black community. He tapped ordinary black Americans in a way they had not been solicited for an Africa-related cause since the days of Garvey. From all over the country, contributions to help African famine victims poured into Africare's headquarters in Washington.

The presidential election victory of Jimmy Carter in 1976 brought black Americans into the foreign policy mainstream as never before. He appointed Andrew Young, who had been both a lieutenant of Martin Luther King, Jr., and a Georgia congressman, to be ambassador to the United Nations. Partly because of his personal friendship with the President, Young was able to transform his ambassadorship into a politically powerful post. In the public mind he became the embodiment of American policy towards Africa. He and one of his top deputies, Donald McHenry, initiated the process which—in spite of its repudiation for many years by the Reagan Administration—finally led to Namibia's independence.

During the 1980s, black political influence on Africa policy was exerted primarily through the legislative branch. The Free South Africa Movement, which TransAfrica launched soon after the 1984 elections, mobilized the public and lobbied Congress to pass the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. The act represented blacks' most important legislative victory since the civil rights laws of the sixties. It demonstrated that their considerable political power could now be harnessed in support of international as well as domestic priorities.

As Countee Cullen has reminded us, black Americans are more than "three centuries removed from the land [their] fathers loved." They cannot with certainty boast, as can many other Americans, of the village or even the country from which their ancestors came. Yet their identification with the continent grows stronger.

Inspired by Alex Haley's *Roots*, thousands, in search of a now proud heritage, have made Africa the vacation land of choice. They cheered and wept when Nelson Mandela emerged in February 1990 from a South African prison. When he came to America to thank them for the crucial support they had given to the anti-apartheid struggle, black America greeted him as a conquering hero as if the land he seeks to free were their own. ■

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Politics, Morality and Civil Rights

As Congress Considers a Bill That Would Restore Anti-Discrimination Protections to American Workers, President Bush Remains Opposed

Expand Economic Opportunity: Yes We Can

At the Joint Center's Annual Dinner, District of Columbia Mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon Spoke of Full Economic Empowerment for African-Americans

Survey Shows Race a Factor in Elections

Social Issues Top Concerns Among Focus *Readers; Nearly Half Envision a Black Presidential or Vice Presidential Candidate by Year 2000*

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Foreign Affairs: a Joint Center Growth Area

Today virtually every aspect of our well-being is affected by events which occur overseas—international trade and problems of U.S. competitiveness, growing problems of ethnic conflict around the world, our relationship with Japan...all challenge us as a society. Foreign events frequently impinge directly on domestic matters, often blurring the lines between those two spheres as they affect the interests, the values, and the economic prospects of black Americans. Thus, blacks and other minorities are compelled to become more active participants in the shaping and implementing of U.S. foreign policies.

Over the years, the Joint Center's involvement in international affairs has grown. And thanks to a five-year grant of a million dollars from the MacArthur Foundation and the agreement of former U.N. Ambassador Donald McHenry to chair our international affairs advisory committee, the Center will expand its research and scholarship in this area in the years ahead.

We are currently at work in several areas. In cooperation with the National Endowment for Democracy, we are studying and assisting the processes of democratic reform on the African continent. We are supporting efforts in South Africa to replace apartheid with a democratic political system as well as movements in other African countries to expand participation in governance.

The dust has hardly settled on Operation Desert Storm, but already efforts are underway to reassess the implications of the high concentration of blacks in the U.S. armed forces. The Joint Center is also investigating ways to minimize the adverse effects on blacks of troop reductions. This work is an outgrowth of our years of research on black representation in the military.

On yet another front, the Joint Center is being called upon to address some of the broad issues of ethnic conflict around the world, drawing on the American experience in managing racial and ethnic diversity. Herein lies an irony and a reality that may have significant implications for both domestic and international affairs. The irony, of course, is that in the United States, despite its historic and dramatic achievement in this area, there continue to be all too many instances in which race relations and civil rights are still unfinished agendas. The United States, however, is perceived by many countries to be a reasonably successful multi-racial and multi-ethnic society.

International affairs is the Joint Center's new growth area. Our goal is to increase the involvement and the influence of black Americans in this field. This is important for at least two reasons. One is that successful foreign policies require broad public input and acceptance. The other is that blacks have something to offer and something to gain from being more fully integrated into the foreign policy establishment.

Both of these reasons are critical today as our nation shapes new relationships within an international system in flux and transition. The challenge for all of us was stated eloquently by Ralph Bunche 40 years ago in his Nobel Peace Prize lecture: "There will be no security in our world, no release from agonizing tension, no genuine progress, no enduring peace until, in Shelley's fine words, 'reason's voice, loud as the voice of nature, shall have waked the nations.'" ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Politics, Morality, and Civil Rights

As Congress Considers a Bill That Would Restore Anti-Discrimination Protections to American Workers, President Bush Remains Opposed

by Lynda Lee Edwards

In 1964, when congressional leaders fashioned the Civil Rights Act, it incorporated the ideals of racial justice, equity, and fairness. As Senator Hubert Humphrey, the Democrat from Minnesota, rose to cast his vote for the bill he said, "there is no room for second-class citizenship in this country." Republicans also shared that sentiment. Republican New York senator Jacob Javits was largely responsible for the legislation's bipartisan support. And President Lyndon Johnson used his considerable influence from the White House to move the bill forward.

But other voices, those of fear and reaction, were also raised. Senator Barry Goldwater, the 1964 GOP presidential nominee, warned that the Act would precipitate a "police state." That obviously didn't happen. A group called the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedom ran an ad in the nation's newspapers proclaiming that the Act was setting the American people up "for a blow that would destroy their right to determine how they live." That didn't happen either.

This year, Congress is considering another anti-discrimination bill—the Civil Rights Act of 1991. Unlike the Act of 1964, which extended to millions of Americans rights they had never before enjoyed, the measure being debated now would primarily restore longstanding protections from employment bias. Yet once more the voices of fairness and equity are opposed by those of fear and reaction.

While several Republican members of the House and Senate have come forward as sponsors, the bill lacks the strong bipartisan support that propelled civil rights legislation in the 1960s. In 1964, Senator Javits had said, "It is clear that the mainstream of my party is in support of civil rights legislation and particularly in support of this bill." Were the senator alive today, he would not be able to repeat that statement, especially since the leader of his party, President George Bush, opposes the bill.

Who Decides on Civil Rights

This most recent civil rights bill was first introduced in 1990 to overturn six 1989 Supreme Court rulings that severely weakened the protections against employment discrimination provided by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code. The effects of the rulings were to place greater burdens on plaintiffs—minorities and women—to prove discrimination; to remove legal sanctions against intentional on-the-job racial harassment; and to reduce access to the courts by making judicial challenges more costly and time consuming. The Civil Rights Acts of 1990 and 1991 were both designed to restore the enforcement provisions of Title VII and Section 1981, and to make it possible for courts to award monetary damages to all victims of intentional discrimination.

The struggle between advocates and opponents of the bill has been vigorous and at times bitter. Opponents complain that extending monetary damages to women, the handicapped, and members of religious groups goes beyond reestablishing the law as it was before the Court's 1989 rulings. A broad coalition of civil rights proponents, on the other hand, asserts that employment discrimination is still a major problem and that this bill restores and strengthens the mechanisms needed to combat it.

Beyond the technical issues of the debate is a high-stakes ideological battle. The outcome may determine who will prevail in shaping civil rights policy—the majority of the Congress, which supports strong civil rights enforcement, or the Bush administration and the Supreme Court, which is now dominated by Reagan-appointed conservatives. If Congress reverses the 1989 rulings through legislation (as it did in 1988 with the Court's *Grove City* decision which weakened Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act), the Court may be deterred from future attempts to alter established civil rights precedents. If the Court's rulings are allowed to stand, many civil rights advocates fear the clock will be turned back on the movement toward race and gender equality.

Discrimination or Business Necessity?

The Civil Rights Act of 1991, H.R. 1, which was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 3, is essentially the same bill that Congress passed and President Bush vetoed in 1990.

The Act would overturn the Court's *Wards Cove Packing Co.* v. *Atonio* decision, which is at the core of the debate about "quotas." The case involved a challenge by Alaskan native and Filipino workers at a salmon cannery who demonstrated statistically that they were greatly overrepresented in unskilled, lower-paying jobs while white employees held almost all of the higher-paying white collar positions. *Wards Cove* reversed the Court's own 1971

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Civil Rights

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unanimous landmark decision in *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Co.*, by weakening the prohibition against employment practices that may appear to be fair on their face but are discriminatory in their application and operate to deny minorities and women jobs and promotions.

The *Griggs* ruling had required that employers prove a "business necessity" for the offending practice or practices by demonstrating that they "bear a significant relationship to successful performance of the job." The Civil Rights Act would reinstate the requirement that employers show the business necessity for such practices.

Some business groups oppose the return to the *Griggs* standard because in their estimation it narrows the defense employers are allowed to make in discrimination cases. They also argue for more flexible hiring criteria like "prior successful experience" and "whether a person has an outgoing personality." They even support the idea that "customer preferences"—such as the kinds of people customers want to wait on them in retail establishments—should be defined as legitimate business needs. Civil rights advocates counter that these criteria are too subjective. Moreover, selecting employees based on customer preference has been outlawed by several courts over the last two decades.

The Act's opponents also fear that it will force businesses to adopt "quotas" requiring employers to hire by the numbers to avoid disparate impact lawsuits. Its sponsors dismiss the quota issue as a red herring. The bill's language explicitly states that nothing in it "shall be construed to require or encourage quotas."

Expanding Penalties

Another hotly debated provision of the Act would restore the sanction of monetary damages against intentional discrimination. In *Patterson* v. *McClean Credit Union* (1989), the Supreme Court actually allowed on-the-job racial harassment when it ruled that a 19th century civil rights statute does not apply to overt racism in the workplace. In this decision, the Court foreclosed the only monetary remedy available to workers who are victims of racial harassment. The case involved Brenda Patterson, a black bank teller and file clerk, who sued her employer, the McClean Credit Union in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for racial harassment.

Patterson sued under Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code which was part of civil rights legislation enacted by Congress in 1866. Section 1981 grants to all persons "the same right to make and enforce contracts...as is enjoyed by white citizens." While the Court did not overturn Section 1981, it severely limited its scope. The majority opinion concluded that since Section 1981 only applies to the "making" of a contract, it cannot be used to redress racial harassment that occurs after a contract has been signed.

Before the Court ruled in *Patterson*, all forms of racial discrimination and on-the-job harassment were routinely judged to be illegal under Section 1981. Now anything that happens after the hiring process has been placed beyond the reach of the law's remedies, allowing blatant discrimination to go unanswered.

The most controversial component of the 1991 Civil Rights Act, also related to the *Patterson* case, would amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to allow juries to award punitive monetary damages to *all* victims of intentional discrimination, including women, members of religious groups, and the handicapped. Currently only racial minorities may receive damages.

This extension of damages is the part of the bill the business community opposes most strongly. The most strident protests against jury-awarded damages come from small businesses. Leslie Aubin, lobbyist for the National Federation of Independent Business, says that even if awards are capped at $150,000 (as in last year's bill), the average Federation company, which has nine employees, could be wiped out by such a suit. "AT&T with its rooms of lawyers and employment tests and records can deal with this part of the bill a lot easier than a small restaurant with seven or eight employees," she says. In fact, while the law would apply to many small firms, it would exempt all businesses with less than 15 employees.

The bill's supporters stress that this provision only covers intentional discrimination. They also reject claims by business advocates that vast sums will be awarded to plaintiffs and that civil rights lawyers will reap "bonanzas" in fees. A 10-year study conducted by the Washington D.C. based law firm of Shea and Gardner for the National Women's Law Center shows that in 85 percent of Section 1981 cases, no damages were awarded at all. In the cases where an award was made, the plaintiffs received an average of $40,000. And in only three cases, nationwide, were damage awards larger than $200,000. Furthermore, the current legislation makes provision for monetary damages or jury trials only in cases where discrimination is intentional, not for disparate impact cases.

Stonewalling

The Bush administration opposes the Act and there is strong evidence that it always opposed altering the Supreme Court rulings. The initial response by Attorney General Richard Thornburgh to the Court's 1989 rulings was that no legislative response was warranted. Yet much of the struggle over the Act has taken place within the Bush administration. Last year, high-ranking black administration officials such as Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan, director of the Office of Personnel Management Constance Newman, and Civil Rights Commission chairman Arthur Fletcher, all Republicans, urged the President to sign the bill, but White House insiders pushed for a veto.

Not only did White House counsel C. Boyden Gray and chief of staff John Sununu persuade the President to veto the 1990 bill, they sabotaged all efforts at compromise. (Last year, both houses of Congress passed the Act with

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May 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- Supreme Court will decide if the Voting Rights Act applies to judicial elections.
- Pro-choice advocates push for congressional legislation to protect procreative and reproductive rights.
- Two former rivals are gearing up to challenge Baltimore mayor Kurt Schmoke in his bid for reelection.
- Seniority on key committees is a source of clout for the Congressional Black Caucus.
- Across the Nation: former Gary mayor Richard Hatcher fails to unseat incumbent mayor Thomas Barnes; Chicago alderman Tim Evans loses reelection bid; and Kansas City, Missouri, elects Emmanuel Cleaver as its first black mayor.

Voting Rights Act and Elected Judgeships

Two pending Supreme Court rulings may result in the election of more black judges. On April 22, the Court heard arguments to determine whether to apply the Voting Rights Act in two cases where election systems are alleged to have excluded black candidates from judgeships. One case, *Houston Lawyers' Association* v. *Attorney General of Texas*, involves a challenge to an at-large scheme for electing trial judges in Texas counties. Out of 386 district judges in Texas, only nine are black. The other case, *Chisom* v. *Roemer*, involves an election scheme in Louisiana. On the Louisiana State Supreme Court, five of the seven members are elected from "single-member" districts but two are elected from a combined "multi-member" district. The effect is to submerge New Orleans' majority black population within the whole district's larger white majority.

The Bush administration joined civil rights lawyers in arguing that Section 2 of the 1965 Voting Rights Act prohibits states from allowing election practices that lead to discriminatory results. In the Texas case, **JULIUS CHAMBERS**, executive director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, argued that "African-Americans and Mexican-Americans were excluded from effectively participating in elections in Texas." He added that a state's interest in determining its election practices "should not be allowed to trump the individual's right to be fairly represented in the vote." Attorneys for the two states argued before the Court that Congress did not intend to apply the Voting Rights Act to judicial elections, and that such an application would erode the public's confidence in an independent judiciary. Using the Louisiana case, Solicitor General **KENNETH STARR** contradicted those assertions, arguing that when states choose to elect them, "judges are representatives of the people, and that's what the Voting Rights Act covers." The Supreme Court decisions could affect judicial election systems in 41 states.

The Abortion Debate: Still Unfolding

Eighteen years after the historic *Roe* v. *Wade* Supreme Court decision legalizing a woman's right to an abortion, the issue remains unsettled. Since *Roe*, there have been numerous challenges in the courts as well as attempts in the state legislatures and Congress to either expand access to abortion, or to weaken or nullify the 1973 decision. Pro-choice groups were stunned by the 1989 Supreme Court decision, *Webster* v. *Reproductive Health Services*, which upheld the State of Missouri's right to ban abortion in public facilities, and let stand the Missouri statute preamble declaring that life begins at conception. Pro-choice advocates view the *Webster* ruling as chipping away at *Roe*. They are concerned that state legislatures have continued to erode procreative and reproductive freedom where *Webster* left off and are looking to Congress to codify the *Roe* decision. **PATRICIA TYSON** of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR) in Washington, D.C., says more than 600 anti-abortion bills have been introduced in state legislatures. "We cannot have a patchwork of different laws," she says, "therefore it is essential that the federal government assume that every woman, regardless of where she lives, is able to exercise free choice."

Pro-choice advocates have given priority to the passage of the Freedom of Choice Act (H.R. 25 and S. 25) and the Reproductive Health Equity Act (H.R. 766) in the 102nd Congress. The Freedom of Choice Act, introduced by California Democrats **ALAN CRANSTON** in the Senate and **DON EDWARDS** in the House, would prohibit states from "restricting the right of a woman to choose to terminate a pregnancy before fetal viability, or at any time, if such termination is necessary to protect the life or health of the woman."

According to its chief sponsor, Rep. **BILL GREEN** (R-NY), H.R. 766 seeks to "guarantee all women access to all constitutionally protected medical services relating to their medical health, regardless of their economic status." It would allow federally funded programs that provide pregnancy-related services to provide abortions. The bill would extend funded abortion services to Peace Corp volunteers, military personnel and their dependents, women in prison, federal employees, and Medicaid recipients. Green has introduced the bill in Congress every year since 1985 but according to Green's office, it has never been reported out of committee because "the climate (in Congress) has not become sufficiently pro-choice."

Reauthorization of Title X of the Public Health Service Act, without a ban on abortion counseling, is also important to pro-choice advocates because for 20 years this program has funded family planning clinics, of which there are about 4,000 in the country. A significant portion of their services are rendered to poor and minority women. After 1981, the clinics were allowed to discuss abortion as an option with clients during counseling, but in 1988 the Reagan administration banned such counseling. Pro-choice advocates are against this "gag rule." **JULIA SCOTT** of the Black Women's Health Project Office of Policy and Education in Washington, D.C., says the loss of access to information and abortion services will weigh most heavily on the poor, many of whom are women of color. The gag rule was challenged in the Supreme Court last October in *Rust* v. *Sullivan*; a ruling is expected this summer. If the Court upholds the regulations, pro-choice advocates will try to persuade Congress to overturn them by statute.

Probably the most contentious issue in the reauthorization of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) is the issue of funding experiments involving fetal tissue transplants. Under the Reagan administration, in 1988 the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) issued a funding moratorium on such research, and the regulations have since been upheld by the Bush administration. Opponents of fetal tissue research argue that it can become an incentive for women to have abortions. Proponents maintain that such research may provide breakthrough treatments for illnesses such as Parkinson's disease, juvenile diabetes, epilepsy, and Alzheimer's disease. Fetal tissue research is supported by many in the scientific community, including the director of the NIH, **BERNADINE HEALY**, who opposed the recommended moratorium from the beginning. Rep. **HENRY WAXMAN** (D-Cal.), chair of the house Health and Environment Subcommittee has introduced an amendment to the reauthorization bill that would remove the ban on this form of research.

Schmoke to be Challenged for Reelection

The September 12 mayoral primary in Baltimore may become a heated battle for native son and black first-term mayor **KURT SCHMOKE**, 42, who was elected in 1987 with 79 percent of the vote. The mayor has already been challenged by two experienced Democrats, and in the November 5 general election he may face Republican opposition as well. Democratic opposition candidates who have already announced include white Democrat **WILLIAM SWISHER**, a former state attorney whom Schmoke unseated from that post in a 1982 election, and black Democrat and former mayor **CLARENCE "DU" BURNS**, a protege of Schmoke's nemesis, the state's popular governor **WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER**. As president of the city council, Burns assumed the post of mayor when Schaefer stepped down to run for governor in 1986. Schmoke edged out Burns by a surprisingly close margin of about 5,000 votes in the 1987 Democratic primary, though he easily won the general election against Republican **SAMUEL A. CULOTTA**.

Crime and education are expected to top the election issues. Last year Baltimore recorded 360 murders, the highest number in 10 years. According to the city's police department, the murder rate is still escalating. Schmoke, an Oxford scholar with law degrees from Yale College and Harvard Law School, campaigned heavily in 1987 on making education a priority, and he has since mounted a highly visible public relations campaign declaring Baltimore, "The City that Reads!" However, he has not been able to form a productive alliance with the school superintendent or the business community. Schmoke and Superintendent **RICHARD HUNTER**, his hand-picked choice over protests by the school board, have clashed over the policy and management of the school system. Schmoke has refused to renew Hunter's contract, which expires on July 31. The mayor has also run into problems raising money from the business community for the College Bound Foundation, which was established in 1988 to provide counseling and college funding for the city's public school graduates. Out of the foundation's financial goal of $25 million, to be raised by the city's business community, only $13 million has been raised so far. Despite these problems, Schmoke is expected to prevail in his bid for reelection.

Committee Power and the CBC

Black members of Congress continue to gain power and influence as they accrue seniority in the House of Representatives. During this Congress, for the first time, the 26 members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) are present on all 22 of the House's standing committees. Dispersal among a variety of committees covering a broad number of issues is a strategy which the CBC adopted in the early 1970s to maximize the influence of its members, who remain relatively few in number. Four CBC members chair standing committees and one chairs a select committee. The chairmen are **JOHN CONYERS** (D-Mich.), Government Operations; **WILLIAM CLAY** (D-Mo.), Post Office and Civil Service; **RONALD DELLUMS** (D-Cal.), District of Columbia; and **LOUIS STOKES** (D-Ohio), Standards of Official Conduct, commonly referred to as the ethics committee. This is Stokes' second time as chair of the ethics committee. **CHARLES RANGEL** (D-NY) chairs the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. Members just steps away from the chairmanship of powerful committees include Rangel, who ranks fourth on Ways and Means; Illinois Democrat **CARDISS COLLINS**, ranked second on Government Operations; Conyers, third on Judiciary; Dellums, fourth on Armed Services; and Clay, third on Education and Labor.

According to political scientist **DAVID BOSITIS**, senior research associate at the Joint Center, "as CBC members increase in rank and seniority, their clout on the Hill and in the Democratic Party expands." The caucus represents nearly 10 percent of the Democratic majority in the House and the caucus votes with the party position on most issues. Bositis adds, "Caucus members are in key positions which enable them to help engineer the legislative agenda of the 102nd Congress, including the Civil Rights Act and the Parental and Medical Leave Bill. Rangel remains in an important position to develop legislative policy to address the national drug problem and Clay's chairmanship gives him primary legislative jurisdiction over the U.S. postal and civil services, both of which employ a significant number of blacks."

Of the caucus members with high committee ranking, Rangel, 60, may be closest to assuming a chair. Ways and Means Committee chair **DAN ROSTENKOWSKI** of Chicago is facing a decision that many senior members with substantial campaign war chests are pondering—whether to retire before 1992, with the legal option of keeping the campaign funds for his personal use, or to stay in office and forfeit the funds. In 1989 Congress passed the Ethics Reform Act, which eliminates the "grandfather clause" which allowed congressmen who have been in office since 1980 to convert campaign funds to personal use. This becomes effective with the 103rd Congress beginning in January 1993. If members stay in office, they can only use the money for campaign purposes. Rostenkowski reportedly has a war chest of about one million dollars. Representatives **SAM GIBBONS** of Florida, and **J.J. PICKLE** of Texas, second and third in line to chair the Ways and Means Committee, are both in their seventies and may consider retirement soon.

Although it probably won't take place in the near future, but 49-year-old black Philadelphia Rep. **WILLIAM GRAY** is in line to assume the House speakership. Gray is now third in line behind Majority Leader **RICHARD GEPHARDT** of Missouri and Speaker **THOMAS FOLEY** of Washington. Gephardt was a presidential candidate in 1988 and next year may revive his White House aspirations. Foley, at 62, is serving his 13th term in Congress; he became speaker in 1989 when Democrat **JIM WRIGHT** of Texas was forced to retire due to ethical improprieties. There is no term limitation on the speakership. If the Democrats remain in the majority and Foley steers clear of scandal, Foley could be around for some time. (**THOMAS P. "TIP" O'NEILL, JR.**, of Massachusetts served the longest continuous term as speaker, 10 years. But Texan **SAM RAYBURN** is credited with the longest cumulative tenure; he reigned a total of 17 years though his leadership was interrupted twice, from 1947 to 1949 and from 1953 to 1955, when the Republicans held a majority.)

ACROSS THE NATION

INDIANA: Seeking reelection, Gary mayor **THOMAS V. BARNES** soundly defeated a cast of nine opponents, including the city's former mayor, **RICHARD HATCHER**, in the May 7 Democratic primary. In this overwhelmingly Democratic city, Barnes is not expected to have any opposition in the November 5 general election. Barnes received 16,607 votes and was followed by Hatcher with 9,520 votes and white attorney **SCOTT KING**, with 9,056 votes.

Former black congresswoman **KATIE HALL** also won reelection—to her second term as city clerk. She is thought to be positioning herself to regain the Congressional seat she lost in 1984 to Democrat **PETER VISCLOSKY**. In the years between her House defeat and election as city clerk, Hall served as vice chair of the Gary Housing Board of Commissioners and as an Indiana state senator. During her single term in Congress, she was the driving force behind passage of the Martin Luther King Jr. federal holiday legislation.

ILLINOIS: Chicagoans elected Mayor **RICHARD M. DALEY, JR.**, to a full four-year term on April 2. Daley received 73 percent of the vote to defeat three opponents, including **R. EUGENE PINCHAM**, the Harold Washington Party's black candidate. Pincham came in second with 22 percent of the vote. The *Chicago Sun Times* estimates that a third of the black vote was cast for Daley in an election where turnout was low among all voters. "This was a low interest, low turnout, low tension election," says **CLARENCE PAGE**, political analyst for the *Chicago Tribune*.

Since the city's first black mayor **HAROLD WASHINGTON** died in 1987 during his second term, some of the city's black leadership have been trying to get another of their own elected to fill the spot. Daley's April victory marks the third time the mayoral seat has eluded a black candidate since **EUGENE SAWYER** was chosen as interim mayor by the board of aldermen after Washington's death. Pincham's general-election loss last month was preceded by the defeat of Cook County Commissioner **DANNY DAVIS** in the February primary and of Alderman **TIM EVANS** in the April 1989 special mayoral election that Daley won.

Evans, who has tried to claim the mantle of Harold Washington and has represented the city's 4th ward for 18 years, was upset in his bid for reelection by black activist **TONI PRECKWINKLE** in a squeaker. In the April 2 general election, Preckwinkle beat Evans by 109 votes. For Preckwinkle, who has challenged Evans twice before, the third try was the charm. Evans' request for a recount is pending in the Cook County Circuit Court.

LOUISIANA: Democratic state representative **DIANA BAJOIE** of New Orleans breezed past four other contestants in February, winning 53 percent of the vote to become the first black woman elected to the Louisiana Senate. A 15-year veteran of the state house of representatives, Bajoie takes the seat left vacant by black Democrat **WILLIAM JEFFERSON**, who was elected to represent New Orleans in Congress. The senate term expires in January, so Bajoie will have to run again in October for a full four-year term.

Bajoie is known as a grassroots politician who is a fervent advocate for families, children, and women. Observers often recount an impassioned speech she made on the floor of the legislature two years ago, which revived a bill dealing with spousal rape that had all but died. Bajoie's floor statement, in which she castigated her male colleagues for their insensitivity toward the issue, was instrumental in securing the measure's adoption.

Bajoie's replacement as state house representative to the 91st district is political newcomer **RENEE PRATT**, a black special education teacher. In the April 20 runoff, Pratt defeated a Bajoie ally, **LINDA COMPTON**, also a teacher, by 87 votes.

MISSOURI: Twelve years after white Democrats in Kansas City deserted their party to defeat its black mayoral candidate **BRUCE R. WATKINS**, voters in the city, which is 30 percent black, have elected **EMMANUEL CLEAVER II** their first black mayor. Formerly mayor pro tem and three-term city council member, Cleaver defeated white businessman and council colleague **BOB LEWELLEN** by 53 percent to 47 percent in the March 26 election, with broad support from voters of both races. A United Methodist minister, the 46-year-old Cleaver received strong support from the business community, including endorsements from **DONALD J. HALL** and **IRVINE O. HOCKADAY, JR.**, the chairman and president of Hallmark Cards Inc., one of the city's major employers.

Cleaver will have a full plate of pressing, contentious city issues to deal with. Like most other metropolitan areas, Kansas City is in an economic downturn. It is threatened with losing two major employers, Trans World Airlines and Allied Signal (a manufacturer of non-nuclear parts for nuclear weapons). The two companies together employ more than 12,000 people. Added to this looming economic disaster are: a federal court order to desegregate the school system; the political hot potato of selecting a site to build the next landfill within the next two years (when the current one is scheduled to close); and the inadequacy of its separate city and suburban bus systems.

Expand Economic Opportunity: Yes We Can

At the Joint Center's Annual Dinner, District of Columbia Mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon Spoke of Full Economic Empowerment for African-Americans

Sharon Pratt Dixon's election victory last November made her the first black woman mayor of a city with a population greater than 500,000. Following is the text of the keynote speech Mayor Dixon delivered at the Joint Center's annual dinner on April 9, 1991.

I remember when the doors first opened at the Joint Center for Political Studies, there were just a handful of African-Americans who had been elected to public office, and we have come a great distance since then. It is a privilege to celebrate our achievements in the political history of this country, particularly those of us who happen to be African-American women.

While ours has been a stellar history, it has not always been in the forefront of American thinking. Our experience has been unlike that of any other ethnic group that has come to America, for here we are 215 years after the Declaration of Independence, 128 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, 37 years after *Brown* v *Board of Education*, 27 years after the Civil Rights Act, here we are still trying to gain access to the basic powers of citizenship in this country.

Unlike Great Britain, the United States is not deeply divided by ideology. America is a country of pragmatists, and as such we have only been committed to two ideologies: democracy and capitalism, and not necessarily in that order. Therefore, one has to have access to both of those powers. First, political power in terms of the right to vote, and then economic power in terms of the chance to participate in this basic capitalist system.

It has been our experience that America has steadily and consistently denied us access to at least one of those levers of power—denied us access to the basic perquisites of citizenship. Indeed, in the beginning, citizenship for us was not only denied, we were not allowed to exercise the most basic expressions of independence—the right to read and the right to own property—which for a long time were defined as criminal conduct on our part. It was not until 102 years after the Emancipation Proclamation that we finally gained access to any lever of power, and that was in 1965 with the enactment of the Voting Rights Act.

We have been in this country since the 1600s. We have waited long. We have served this country in our industries and we have served her in the military, fighting for the freedom of this nation. We have done it since the American Revolution. Indeed, in the Revolutionary War it was one among us who was the first to have been slain: Crispus Attucks. And yet it was not until 1965 that we finally gained access to one of those basic levers of power.

What strides we've made since then. Now Doug Wilder serves as the governor of the Old Dominion. Bill Gray will surely be a Speaker of the House of Representatives some day, for he's now the third highest ranking Democrat in the House of Representatives. There are several among us who served in pivotal positions on major Congressional committees. (I'm sure Charlie Rangel's going to become chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.) Ron Brown serves as the chairman of one of the only two major political parties in all of the United States of America. And in almost every major city in this country there's one among us who serves as its mayor, including the Big Apple, where David Dinkins controls $30 billion a year.

Bridges to Economic Opportunity

Ours is an extraordinary story of resilience and enterprise. But now the challenge, with nine years remaining before we cross the threshold of the 21st century, is to leverage all of that collective political power to gain access to the other lever of power, economic power. We must become manufacturers, producers, and distributors of goods and services in this expanding global marketplace. We have got to do it because of the competition that exists in the world today and because we live, as I said, in a capitalist country where everyone must bring something to the table. We cannot allow ourselves to be defined as those who take. We must be defined as those who make.

We must be seen as those who are expanding the economic pie. Because of our unique plight and our unique circumstances, for so long we've had to direct our energies to just achieving basic citizenship and political rights. But that does not in any way negate the fact—with only nine years left of this century, nine years away from another century—that we've got to move with dispatch. It cannot be that we perceived Doug Wilder's election [to governor of Virginia] as an end. We've got to understand that that's just the beginning. One Harvey Gantt running for the Senate is a moral victory, but we cannot be satisfied until a whole lot of Harvey Gantts have access to the floor of the United States Senate.

One Shirley Chisholm and one Jesse Jackson running for the presidency demonstrate our willingness, ability, and capacity to achieve and seek out the highest level of political office, but much more still has to be done. We must bring the same resolve and enterprise that we brought to the political quest. We must now extend our political reach to our economic quest.

What is clear is that we're entering a new global economic environment, and we cannot allow ourselves to be pushed to the economic margins. Our history should tell

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Dixon

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us we can't afford to do that. We participated in the agricultural revolution but, sadly, to this day we're still waiting for the 40 acres and the mule. We participated in the industrial revolution, but we never reaped the full benefits of our labor. It has been our plight as African-American workers to be consistently locked out, put down, or cut off from the bounty of American capitalism.

Now, as we stand on a new economic threshold, we are required to look searchingly at our condition today, and if we do not grasp this economic power, we will once again find ourselves at the economic margin. Our young people are growing frustrated and impatient with the absence of real opportunity and that is part of the reason so many of them in communities across this country have turned to their own kind of capitalism—the illicit capitalism of the drug trade. Therefore, we must create new economic opportunities for our own salvation.

To suddenly become major players in a high-tech service economy as America herself enters a major economic revolution is not going to be easy. So what it means is that we've got to leverage all of our accumulated political power to wedge our way into the process. It has been our presence in the Federal Communications Commission that has paved the way to expanded ownership of TV and radio stations by African-Americans today.

It is our presence right here in the District of Columbia on the Public Service Commission that explains why there are African-American officials in every one of the utilities in the District. It is the fact that we are mayors of major cities across this country that explains why we are partners and directors in the public finance divisions of every major investment banking company in this country.

I've often said that when we go to the presidential convention, maybe what we ought to do is to spend a little less time trying to figure out who among us will sit on the dais or who among us will speak at the podium or even who ought to be on the ticket as a vice presidential candidate. Why not spend that time and energy trying to figure out who among us can run the Federal Communications Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, or the Nuclear Regulatory Commission?

We have got to exercise that regulatory power to achieve economic parity. But when we achieve this economic power we've got to do so in a manner that redounds to the collective benefit of our community, for while more and more of us in the African-American community have become a part of America's middle class, that many more of us have gotten caught up in a vicious, irreversible cycle of poverty, and this dynamic is creating a menacing pall over our own potential and power as a people. The sad byproduct of this expanding poverty has been drugs and crime. And the biggest victims have been our own children because of the absence of real economic opportunity.

We must create the bridges to economic opportunity for the sake of our children and for the sake of our own salvation. But economic power must be shared. Wherever power exists, we must be certain that it is exercised to the full benefit of our community. That means that our entire community must be reflected at the table of power. And to have a full reflection of our community at the table of power means that we need women at that table. For, while women have always been on the front line in the battle for change, we have rarely been there to exercise the power ultimately obtained.

Need for Women at the Table

The whole modern civil rights movement began one day when Rosa Parks decided that she would not go to the back of the bus. Her personal resolve and singular courage ushered in two decades of reform. Yet there is no equivalent of a Rosa Parks running the NAACP or the Urban League. Dorothy Height has always had to do it alone.

It was Fannie Lou Hamer who in 1964 led the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and the first African-American to seek the office of President was Shirley Chisholm in 1972. Yet when the Democratic Party was attempting to assuage the growing discontent among women in 1984 by putting a woman on the ticket, not one African-American woman was on the list of potential nominees.

It was just this year, 1991, that the Congressional Black Caucus recaptured its high of four women members which it first achieved in the mid-1970s. And it was not until this year that an African-American woman has become mayor of a major city, though many women may have shepherded the way—a Unita Blackwell, a Lottie Shackleford, and here in this city a Patricia Roberts Harris. We must be at the table to shape policy, not to engage in a mindless exercise of power but to reflect the concerns that may help in the uplifting of our entire community.

So when the trails are blazed, whether it be the U.S. House of Representatives, whether it be the State House, whether it be the White House, we need to be there at the cutting edge, for we as a people stand at an extraordinary crossroads. We see in our horizon magnificent potential, as we see before us enormous obstacles. We can achieve that potential if we close ranks, renew the spirit and resolve that carried us to this point. And I am certain if we do it we can recapture our children and reclaim our future.

But to succeed means that we've got to reinvigorate that magnificent relationship that got us this far—partners and comrades in arms, men and women, shoulder to shoulder, a relationship that brought us to this point. And when I say this, I mean full partners crossing the threshold of the 21st century, not just in terms of the quest for power but absolutely in terms of the exercise of power. To this we must say, "Yes, we can and yes, we will." ■

Survey Shows Race a Factor in Elections

Social Issues Top Concerns Among Focus *Readers; Nearly Half Envision a Black Presidential or Vice Presidential Candidate by Year 2000*

Education, race relations, and poverty are the biggest problems facing this nation, followed closely by the economy, drugs, and health care according to a 1991 survey of *Focus* readers.

Over 400 readers returned the survey which appeared in the January issue of the magazine. Among those who responded, 78 percent gave their party affiliation as Democratic, 8 percent as Republican, and 10 percent as independent. Two out of three are male, 88 percent are black, over half report their household income as above $50,000, and 80 percent have at least a college degree. Over a third of those who returned the survey are elected officials. About one-fifth identified their place of employment as a community organization, and about one-fourth described their occupations as either professional or technical.

Education Ranks Highest. Asked to list the three most important issues facing the nation, respondents named education 46 percent of the time. While a large number of survey participants named education as an overall problem area, many readers pinpointed issues such as illiteracy or job training as their chief concern. On a related question, nearly 92 percent said that school curricula do not adequately reflect the contributions black Americans have made to society.

Race and Politics. Thirty-nine percent named race relations as one of the top three problems facing the nation. Race relations are of greater concern among Democrats than Republicans surveyed, with Democrats more than twice as likely to name this as the number one problem facing the nation (20 percent versus 9 percent, respectively).

Respondents were also asked to evaluate race relations in their community and the role of racism in municipal, county, and state elections. Less than a third described their communities' racial situation in positive terms ("excellent" cited by 2.5 percent and "good" by 28.6 percent), while the vast majority chose the two categories at the bottom of the scale, "only fair" (51.2 percent) and "poor" (17.2 percent).

Fifty-nine percent of the *Focus* readers who returned the survey said racism had been a factor in recent elections in their municipality, county, or state, while 29 percent said racism was not a factor and 11 percent were not sure. Elected officials were less likely than other respondents to perceive racism as a factor in elections; 54 percent of the officeholders answered "yes" on this question compared to 62 percent of non-officeholders.

Yet despite their overwhelming concerns about race relations in communities and electoral politics, a surprising number of survey participants seem optimistic about the chances that a black person will soon be nominated for one of the two highest offices in the land. Nearly half (47.5 percent) believe that one of the two major political parties will nominate a black candidate for president or vice president before the end of this century, while 49.5 percent do not believe that will occur.

Republican readers were 15 percent more likely than their Democratic counterparts to predict a black presidential or vice presidential nominee by the year 2000. On the question of whether that nominee will be a Democrat or a Republican, Democrats were closely divided, choosing their own party by a margin of just under three percentage points. Republicans, on the other hand, were much more likely—by a margin of 23 percentage points—to think that it will be their party that will run a black candidate for president or vice president.

Poverty and Economics. The third major issue most frequently named by readers in the survey was poverty (38%). Readers voiced their concerns about deepening poverty as well as about the widening income gap between black and white and between rich and poor. Concern over poverty did not directly reflect readers' personal experience. Asked whether they were better or worse off economically than they had been three years ago, over 70 percent said about the same or somewhat better. Just under 14 percent said they were much better off, while 12 percent said they were now somewhat worse off and three percent described themselves as much worse off.

General economic concerns, including the federal budget deficit, the banking crisis, and the nation's overall economic health, were cited by 32 percent of the participants, placing economic issues fourth among the leading problems mentioned. Drugs were a top concern for 29 percent of those surveyed, while 21 percent named health care and its cost as one of their top three concerns.

Readers were also asked a series of questions on policy issues that are topics of current public debate. By a ratio of approximately five to three, *Focus* readers opposed the death penalty. They overwhelmingly favored some restrictions on gun ownership (87 percent to 13 percent), while 28 percent favored a total ban on handgun ownership and 41.6 percent favored such a ban on rifles of military design.

Finally, survey respondents strongly agreed with a statement that characterized affirmative action as a "useful tool for achieving equal opportunity"; 84 percent agreed with that assessment, while just 10 percent disagreed. ■

The survey results were compiled and analyzed through the combined efforts of Nancy Stella, Bea Strattner, and Merlinda Novicio.

Civil Rights

(Continued from page 4)

overwhelming bipartisan support, but each body fell just short of veto-proof two-thirds majorities). Gray stonewalled the efforts to negotiate a compromise that had begun between Sununu, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), one of the bill's prime sponsors, and black Republican William T. Coleman, who represented the interests of the civil rights groups. Coleman, a Washington attorney, chairs the board of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund and was Transportation secretary in the Ford administration. Gray is perhaps the most ardent opponent of the Act in the Bush administration and is considered to be the point man within the White House for the ideological right.

A group that has expended a substantial amount of money and effort to oppose the Act interestingly calls itself the Fair Employment Coalition. The coalition of about 260 companies and business associations retained the public relations firm of Robinson, Lake, Lerer, & Montgomery to conduct a campaign to make sure that Americans would associate the bill with the stigma of quotas. In the end, labeling the 1990 Civil Rights Act a quota bill and asserting that it would increase unreasonable lawsuits, Bush vetoed it last October 22. The Senate failed to override the veto on October 24 by one vote.

This year's bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1991 (H.R.1), is on a fast track in Congress, the first piece of legislation introduced in the House this session. But officials at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue seem even more entrenched in their opposition than last year.

This April, White House officials torpedoed the renewed negotiations that William Coleman and former National Urban League director and Washington attorney Vernon Jordan were holding with officers of the Business Roundtable. The group represents 200 of the nation's largest corporations, including AT&T, American Express, and Johnson & Johnson. The discussions broke down under White House pressure just as the participants were approaching a compromise involving a limit on damages and language softening the definition of business necessity. The legislation is expected to be redrafted to contain these considerations even without the direct endorsement of business groups.

Long-time civil rights attorney William Taylor, who has been close to the talks, says, "Gray and Sununu had the Roundtable stop negotiating because they were getting too close to an agreement. If the nation's most powerful corporations had cut a deal on the bill's language, it would have made it more difficult for the White House to maintain its unyielding rejection of the Act." Smaller companies also have remained unyielding in their opposition.

In addition to the bipartisan House and Senate majorities and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 185 organizations, the bill's supporters include high-ranking black Bush administration officials, the American Bar Association, the Civil Rights Commission (by a vote of 7 to 1), as well as such traditionally "anti-quota" Jewish organizations as the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, and the Anti-Defamation League. Some observers contend, however, that all of these forces may not be enough to override a presidential veto unless the House and Senate leadership weigh in more heavily. What is even more ominous is that the closer the vote gets to the '92 elections, the less likely it is to be debated as an issue of fairness in the workplace. Several political analysts predict that the Republican Party will use the Civil Rights Act as a focus for racially loaded election messages, similar to the Willie Horton ads of Bush's 1988 campaign and North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms' "quota" ads in his successful bid for reelection last year. Some Southern Democratic senators who have supported civil rights in the past—partly because they have depended on black voters for reelection—fear that voting for the Civil Rights Act could invite a white voter backlash.

Today, just as in 1964, what is required of members of Congress to support civil rights legislation is moral courage. What is also required is leadership. Many Americans, discouraged by events over the last few years, are wondering if there exists enough of either quality in the nation's capitol to make the Civil Rights Act into law ■

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Trendletter Special:
House Votes on Civil Rights

FOCUS

Minorities in Medicine: 3,000 by 2000?

Plans by Medical Schools to Increase the Number of Minority Doctors Will Improve Health Care in Underserved Communities

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Education: the Key to Economic Competitiveness

In recent years the United States has become less competitive at producing cars, electronic equipment, and other goods than countries in Europe and the Pacific Rim. If our nation is to elevate its ability to compete in the intense global marketplace, it will have to make greater investments in its most valuable asset—we the people. This is something the country is doing less well than it used to.

G.I. Bill of Rights legislation enabled millions of veterans returning from World War II and the Korean War to take advantage of the higher education that had until then been a preserve of the privileged. In 1957, when the U.S.S.R. launched Sputnik, earth's first manmade satellite, Congress moved quickly to adopt the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to bridge the technological gap between the U.S. and the Soviets. It dramatically expanded the pool of university educated Americans in the fields of math, foreign languages, and the sciences.

Today, the challenge is not only access but equity—making quality education accessible to *all* Americans. Yet it seems that some policy makers have reverted to thinking of higher education simply as a consumer product distributed through market forces, making it once again a privilege for the well off. They seem to have lost sight of the fact that an educated populace is the nation's most important national resource.

Two articles in this month's FOCUS look at how educators are addressing access and equity. The first, "Minorities in Medicine: 3,000 by 2000," examines a program conducted by medical schools to increase the number of their minority graduates. In the 1960s, about 83 percent of the nation's 6,000 black doctors were graduates of just two historically black institutions. Today more than 80 percent of minority doctors receive their medical training at predominantly white schools, although the total number of minority M.D.s is still woefully small. It is laudable that these institutions have recognized a need to voluntarily expand access to medical education for minority students.

America needs more black, Latino, and American Indian physicians to attend to the urgent health needs of our people. The death rate among blacks, for example, is still twice as high as it is for whites. Since minority doctors are far more likely to practice in minority communities than their white counterparts, community health is bound to improve as more minorities become doctors.

The second article, "Training Tomorrow's Work Force," reviews the findings of a Joint Center study of vocational education programs in four different cities where the majority of the students are black. Unlike yesterday's "shop classes," where underachievers were dumped in the past, vocational education programs today are preparing young people for jobs in such fields as health care, marketing, and graphic arts. They are also equipping them with broader job skills like computer literacy, resume writing, and oral communication. All these programs have work experience components where participants receive on-the-job training at private firms and government agencies.

The health of the American people, the quality of the work force, and the competitiveness of our national economy are all interrelated and inescapably linked to the quality of education available to us. Other relevant factors, of course, are the individual initiative, commitment, and sometimes self-sacrifice that are necessary to take maximum advantage of opportunities in education, employment, and health care. I'll have more to say on this latter point in future issues of FOCUS. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Minorities in Medicine: 3,000 by 2000?

Plans by Medical Schools to Increase the Number of Minority Doctors Will Improve Health Care in Underserved Communities

by Herbert W. Nickens

For many years this country's medical schools operated primarily as the preserve of white men and mirrored the pattern of discrimination in other institutions in our society. Before the civil rights era, most minority physicians were graduates of Howard University Medical School in Washington, D.C., and Meharry Medical School in Nashville. Until then, all of the predominantly white medical schools together graduated only a few dozen minority medical students in any given year.

Minorities are still seriously underrepresented in the healing arts. But over the last 20 years, the Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC) has worked toward increasing the number of minority graduates at their institutions. It is fair to say that over the last two decades, a voluntary desegregation of medical education has taken place. Nevertheless, the AAMC goal of minorities representing 16 percent of all medical students has never been met. To reach this goal, the Association is developing a new initiative to expand minority participation in the medical profession by expanding current recruitment efforts and developing precollege programs.

Unmet Goals

As a result of the civil rights era, in the late 1960s the Association of American Medical Colleges became much more aggressive in seeking to increase minority enrollment at majority institutions. The AAMC, founded in 1876, represents all 126 U.S. medical schools, more than 400 of the nation's major teaching hospitals, and their faculties. In 1969 the AAMC established an office of minority affairs. One year later, it established a short-term minority enrollment goal of 12 percent by the school term of 1975-76. In 1978 it revised that goal upward to 16 percent. The original goal had been based solely on the black population, the only minority group for which reliable population data had been available in 1970; the new goal was broadened to include other minorities.

Most medical schools have increased their minority enrollment over the past 20 years, often through a variety of recruitment, academic enrichment and support, and financial aid programs. In the late 1960s, 83 percent of the approximately 6,000 black physicians in the country held medical degrees from Howard or Meharry. Today, all four predominantly black medical schools—Howard, Meharry, Drew and Morehouse—produce less than one quarter of the approximately 850 black students who complete U.S. medical education annually. Nevertheless, neither of the AAMC's minority recruitment goals has yet been met.

One of the earliest principles established by the AAMC is that its recruitment and admissions programs focus on minorities whose numerical representation in the profession is substantially lower than their representation in the population at large—blacks, mainland Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and Native Americans.

Blacks, who constitute 13.2 percent of the U.S. population in the 20-to-29 age band, accounted for only 5.7 percent of the 1990 medical school graduating class. Mexican-Americans in 1990 were 7.1 percent of the age band and 1.6 percent of the graduates. The comparable 1990 figures for mainland Puerto Ricans were 1.3 and 0.6 percent; and for Native Americans 0.9 and 0.3. The goal of population parity for the four underrepresented minority groups is becoming ever more distant, for while the growth in number of minority medical students has flattened out in recent years, the overall national minority population continues to increase.

Minority Physicians Are a National Resource

There have always been valid, important reasons to expand the number of minorities in the healing arts. First, as a matter of principle, the country's corps of health professionals should reflect the nation's diversity. By the year 2020, 40 percent of the nation's school-age population will be minority.

Second, an increase in the number of minority physicians can expand access to health care among America's minorities. Questionnaires of graduating medical students show that black medical school graduates are much more willing to establish their practices in medically underserved areas. Surveys of practitioners show that black physicians serve a higher proportion of minority patients in their practices than their white counterparts.

Black physicians also choose primary care specialties—general internal medicine, family practice, and general pediatrics—more frequently than white doctors. These specialties have the greatest potential to improve the health status of blacks, whose high rates of heart disease, cancer, and stroke contribute to a black death rate that is now about 50 percent higher than that of whites.

(Continued on page 4)

Dr. Nickens is a physician and vice president for Minority Health, Education and Prevention at the Association of American Medical Colleges in Washington, D.C.

Medicine

(Continued from page 3)

Third, minority physicians must participate more significantly in the management and leadership of the nation's health care industry. The $600 billion enterprise—involving pharmaceutical and medical equipment companies, for-profit hospital chains, medical schools, public clinics, and neighborhood health centers—is managed by people who make vital decisions about health care, its delivery, and who receives it. It is essential that the values and world views of minority managers are represented in this vast system.

Finally, the increase in the number of minority physicians will help desegregate the leadership elites in local communities. Physicians are often asked to serve on school boards, municipal commissions, and other positions of wide-ranging influence.

Education Gap

The stagnation in the number of minority medical school graduates over the past 15 years has resulted from a number of factors, including the chilling effect of resurgent conservatism and retrenchment in affirmative action programs, increasing tuition costs combined with a loss of scholarships, the withdrawal of federal funding for health manpower training programs, and a general decrease in interest in medicine as a career.

But perhaps the most significant barriers to minority enrollment in medicine are rooted in the educational disadvantages that minority students face prior to entering medical school—in primary and secondary school as well as in college. For example, the rate at which high school graduates enroll in college has decreased among blacks in the past 15 years from 33.4 percent in 1976 to 28.1 percent in 1988, while increasing for whites from 33.0 percent to 38.1 percent during the same period, further widening the racial gap. The inadequate education of minorities in inner city elementary and secondary schools shows in lower grades and scores on standardized tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT). The gap in educational achievement is not simply one of poverty since many black youths from affluent families also do not perform well on standardized tests such as the SAT.

The low representation of black males in medical schools deserves special note. It is only the increase in black female applications and admissions to medical school that has kept the numbers of black medical graduates from falling precipitously. The historical peak year of black male enrollment in medical school was 1971, when 626 were enrolled. In 1990 the figure was 466, a drop of 26 percent.

3,000 by 2000

To address these problems, the AAMC began planning in 1990 for "Project 3,000 by 2000." The project draws its name from its goal: to have 3,000 minority students entering U.S. medical schools by the year 2000. That would approximately double current numbers. The project is designing a two-pronged approach—one short- to medium-term effort to expand existing recruitment resources and another long-term effort focusing on precollege programs.

The long-term effort involves the identification or creation of magnet math and science public high schools with substantial minority enrollments. These high schools would then be encouraged to form partnerships with colleges and medical schools so as to create an integrated educational system. Through these partnerships, high school-college-medical school can become a single 12-year enterprise, rather than remaining segmented into three four-year components.

Such partnerships could help to enrich the curricula of high schools as well as provide clear vocational goals toward which young minority students could aspire, reducing the mystery and fear with which many teenagers view university courses and environments. Academic medical centers in partnership with high schools and colleges would provide medical professionals to visit schools, make summer lab jobs available to students, offer teacher training, give high schools feedback on how science and math courses can be upgraded, and help design creative ways to finance higher education.

Because many medical schools are part of larger universities, students who choose other fields of graduate study could easily shift to other courses of study; there will be no effort to lock students into medicine or even into science. A key component in these partnerships is to insure that the high school curricula are rigorous since their mission will be to compensate for the effects of deficient primary school education. The students targeted for these magnet math and science high schools will be those who are solid, ambitious, and willing to work hard, but who might not succeed without such a program. The AAMC does not want to locate these schools in upper- income neighborhoods in order to simply reaffirm the success of the cream of the talent pool.

Because a student entering the ninth grade in the fall of 1991 would not enter medical school until 1999, a short- to medium-term strategy is also necessary. Over the past 20 years medical schools have developed substantial minority-related infrastructures of people and systems engaged in recruitment, financial aid, and academic retention. Enhancing and expanding these infrastructures by medical schools could bring greater numbers of blacks and other minorities into medicine in the near term. For example, almost two hundred minorities each year take the MCAT and score well enough to be admitted to medical school but do not apply. This is an obvious source of students who should be targeted immediately by medical school recruitment and financial aid officials.

The most exciting aspect of Project 3,000 by 2000 is its potential to improve the lives of minority young people by improving educational opportunities available to them, across the board. Whether they choose ultimately to enter medicine or not, everyone will gain. ■

June 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Civil Rights: House-Yes, Bush-No

On June 5, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a compromise civil rights bill by an overwhelming majority of 273 to 158. The measure, backed by the House leadership, would overturn six U.S. Supreme Court decisions handed down in June 1989. The Court decisions made it more difficult for workers to prove discrimination and limited their access to judicial remedies for employment bias by making court challenges against employers more costly and time consuming. The Court also removed any legal penalties against on-the-job racial harassment. In effect, the decisions weakened protections provided by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code. (See May 1991 FOCUS, "Politics, Morality, and Civil Rights.") Two substitute bills were defeated on the House floor on June 4: a stronger version of the leadership bill, sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and a Bush administration bill, which civil rights advocates had vigorously opposed.

The leadership bill has been actively opposed by small businesses who fear having to pay damages if found guilty of intentional discrimination; they have been claiming that the measure would impose "quotas" on employers. President **GEORGE BUSH** has been a leader in the chorus of those calling the legislation a "quota bill" and has introduced a substitute bill of his own. Civil rights advocates have rejected the Bush substitute because they believe it would codify aspects of the Court's rulings that they want to see overturned. The White House has refused requests by the bill's supporters to work out a compromise. Bush aides have also blocked all efforts at compromise between business leaders and civil rights advocates. As he did with a similar measure last year, the President has threatened to veto this bill, which fell 17 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to override such action.

One goal of the leadership bill, whose prime sponsors are **JACK BROOKS** (D-Tex.), chair of the Judiciary Committee, and **HAMILTON FISH JR.** (R-N.Y.), the ranking Republican on the committee, is to overturn the Court's 1989 Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio decision. Wards Cove reversed the Court's unanimous 1971 Griggs v. Duke Power Co. ruling, which had required employers to prove a "business necessity" for practices that in effect exclude minorities and women from hiring and promotions (like police department height requirements that have nothing to do with how well a person would perform in police work.) Another major provision of the leadership bill would reverse the Court's 1989 ruling in Patterson v. McClean Credit Union. That ruling actually gave employers a blank check to engage in on-the-job racial harassment against employees. The Patterson ruling undermined Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code (enacted by Congress in 1866), which grants to all persons "the same right to make and enforce contracts...as is enjoyed by white citizens." The Court decided that Section 1981 did not apply to any harassment that occurred after an employment contract has been executed. Section 1981 was the only statute that provided punitive monetary remedies to workers who were victims of racial harassment in the workplace. The Court has all but eliminated that remedy. Each of the legislative proposals put forward by the House leadership, the Bush administration, and the CBC takes a different approach to the various issues raised by the Court rulings. Following is an outline of some of the more important differences.

BUSINESS NECESSITY. The leadership bill requires that employment practices bear a "significant and manifest relationship to the requirements of effective job performance." These include actual job functions and factors that contribute to performance, such as attendance and deportment. The bill would specifically overturn the principles outlined in the Court's Ward Cove opinion and would codify the type of evidence required to prove business necessity. The Bush bill is quite permissive in allowing employers to justify practices that are discriminatory. For example, under Bush's bill an employer could justify refusing to hire minorities or women based on "customer preferences"—that is, because customers prefer not to deal with them.

DAMAGES. The leadership bill would amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to permit damage awards to victims of intentional discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, sex, or disability. Juries would be allowed to award punitive damages against employers who "engage in an unlawful employment practice with malice, or reckless or callous indifference to the federally protected rights of others." The punitive damages would be capped at either $150,000 or the sum of back pay and compensatory damages, whichever is greater. The bill maintains the prior exemption of all businesses with fewer than 15 employees. The Bush bill would permit damages up to $150,000 for intentional harassment only. There would be no monetary relief for other forms of intentional discrimination. Moreover, employees would forfeit any award if they failed to pursue the employer's internal complaint process within 90 days of the incident. Only courts, not juries, would be allowed to award damages, and the courts' flexibility would be limited by a broad set of criteria that would have to be considered before an award could be made.

ANTI-QUOTA LANGUAGE. The leadership bill says that it shall not be construed "to require encourage, or permit an employer to adopt hiring or promotion quotas," and futher states that quotas will be deemed unlawful under Title VII while also reaffirming the validity of lawful affirmative action programs. This provision would enable white male workers to sue against unlawful quotas. Ironically, the Bush bill contains no language on quotas.

CBC ALTERNATIVE. The main differences between the CBC substitute proposal and the leadership bill are that the CBC measure would place no cap on damages and would define business necessity in a way that more closely conforms to the language of the 1971 Griggs decision. The measure was sponsored by CBC Chair **ED TOWNS** (D-N.Y.) and Rep. **PATRICIA SCHROEDER** (D-Colo.) who cochairs the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues. The only member of the CBC who voted for the Bush proposal (and against the CBC and leadership bills) was Republican freshman Rep. **GARY FRANKS** of Connecticut. The CBC substitute was defeated by a vote of 277 to 152, and the Bush bill was voted down 266 to 162.

Bush has described the supporters of the leadership bill as favoring unfair racial preferences. But among those who have urged him to approve the provisions contained in the Civil Rights Act of 1990 and the leadership measure this year have been some of the nation's most distinguished black Republicans, including high-ranking black administration officials. Among them are Health and Human Services Secretary **LOUIS SULLIVAN**, director of the Office of Personnel Management **CONSTANCE NEWMAN**, and **ARTHUR FLETCHER**, who chairs the Civil Rights Commission—Bush appointees all.

How They Voted on Civil Rights

A plus (+) indicates a vote consistent with the Congressional Black Caucus

The chart below shows how House members with districts that have black populations of at least 15 percent voted on the CBC substitute, the Bush administration substitute, and the leadership bill. (NV) indicates the legislator did not vote. An asterisk (*) indicates a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

State	Congressional District	Member		Black Pop. (%)	CBC Bill (+=For)	Bush Bill (+=Against)	Leadership Bill (+=For)
Alabama							
	1	Callahan	(R)	31	-	-	-
	2	Dickinson	(R)	31	-	-	-
	3	Browder	(D)	28	-	+	+
	6	Erdreich	(D)	34	-	+	+
	7	Harris	(D)	33	-	+	+
Arkansas							
	1	Alexander	(D)	19	-	+	+
	2	Thornton	(D)	17	+	+	+
	4	Anthony	(D)	28	-	+	+
California							
	8	* Dellums	(D)	27	+	+	+
	28	* Dixon	(D)	39	+	+	+
	29	* Waters	(D)	50	+	+	+
	31	* Dymally	(D)	34	+	+	+
Delaware (At-large)							
		Carper	(D)	16	-	+	+
Florida							
	2	Peterson	(D)	24	+	+	+

State	Congressional District	Member		Black Pop. (%)	CBC Bill (+=For)	Bush Bill (+=Against)	Leader-ship Bill (+=For)
	3	Bennett	(D)	27	-	+	+
	5	McCollum	(R)	16	-	-	-
	7	Gibbons	(D)	15	+	-	+
	12	Lewis	(R)	19	-	-	-
	15	Shaw	(R)	18	-	-	-
	17	Lehman	(D)	27	NV	NV	+
	18	Ros-Lehtinen	(R)	16	-	-	+
Georgia							
	1	Thomas	(D)	33	-	-	+
	2	Hatcher	(D)	37	-	-	+
	3	Ray	(D)	34	-	-	+
	5	* Lewis	(D)	65	+	+	+
	6	Gingrich	(R)	15	-	-	-
	8	Rowland	(D)	35	-	-	+
	10	Barnard	(D)	25	-	-	-
Illionois							
	1	* Hayes	(D)	92	+	+	+
	2	* Savage	(D)	70	+	+	+
	7	* Collins	(D)	67	+	+	+
	21	Costello	(D)	15	-	+	+
Indiana							
	1	Visclosky	(D)	24	-	+	+
	10	Jacobs	(D)	27	-	+	+
Kentucky							
	3	Mazzoli	(D)	20	-	+	+
Louisiana							
	2	* Jefferson	(D)	59	+	+	+
	3	Tauzin	(D)	20	-	-	+
	4	McCrery	(R)	32	-	-	-
	5	Huckaby	(D)	31	-	-	-
	6	Baker	(R)	25	-	-	-
	7	Hayes	(D)	20	+	-	-
	8	Holloway	(R)	38	-	+	-
Maryland							
	1	Gilchrest	(R)	19	-	-	-
	3	Cardin	(D)	16	+	+	+
	4	McMillen	(D)	21	-	+	+
	5	Hoyer	(D)	35	+	+	+
	7	* Mfume	(D)	73	+	+	+
Massachusetts							
	9	Moakley	(D)	16	+	+	+
Michigan							
	1	* Conyers	(D)	71	+	+	+
	7	Kildee	(D)	15	+	+	+
	13	* Collins	(D)	71	+	+	+
Mississippi							
	1	Whitten	(D)	25	-	+	+
	2	* Espy	(D)	58	+	+	+
	3	Montgomery	(D)	32	-	-	-
	4	Parker	(D)	42	-	-	-
	5	Taylor	(D)	19	-	-	-
Missouri							
	1	* Clay	(D)	52	+	+	+
	5	* Wheat	(D)	23	+	+	+
New Jersey							
	10	* Payne	(D)	58	+	+	+
New York							
	6	* Flake	(D)	50	+	+	+

State	Congressional District	Member		Black Pop. (%)	CBC Bill (+=For)	Bush Bill (+=Against)	Leader-ship Bill (+=For)
	11	* Towns	(D)	47	+	+	+
	12	* Owens	(D)	80	+	+	+
	16	* Rangel	(D)	49	+	+	+
	17	Weiss	(D)	16	+	+	+
	18	Serrano	(D)	44	+	+	+
	20	Lowey	(D)	16	+	+	+
	33	Nowak	(D)	19	+	+	+
North Carolina							
	1	Jones	(D)	35	-	+	+
	2	Valentine	(D)	40	-	-	+
	3	Lancaster	(D)	27	-	-	+
	4	Price	(D)	20	-	+	+
	5	Neal	(D)	16	-	+	+
	6	Coble	(R)	21	-	-	-
	7	Rose	(D)	27	+	+	+
	8	Hefner	(D)	20	-	+	+
	9	McMillan	(R)	23	-	-	-
Ohio							
	1	Luken	(D)	16	-	+	+
	2	Gradison	(R)	16	-	-	-
	3	Hall	(D)	18	-	+	+
	12	Kasich	(R)	15	-	-	-
	21	* Stokes	(D)	62	+	+	+
Pennsylvania							
	1	Foglietta	(D)	32	+	+	+
	2	* Gray	(D)	80	+	+	+
	14	Coyne	(D)	22	+	+	+
South Carolina							
	1	Ravenel	(R)	32	-	-	-
	2	Spence	(R)	35	-	-	-
	3	Derrick	(D)	23	-	+	+
	4	Patterson	(D)	19	-	+	+
	5	Spratt	(D)	33	-	+	+
	6	Tallon	(D)	41	-	+	+
Tennessee							
	5	Clement	(D)	22	-	+	+
	8	Tanner	(D)	20	-	+	+
	9	* Ford	(D)	57	+	+	+
Texas							
	1	Chapman	(D)	20	-	+	+
	2	Wilson	(D)	16	-	+	+
	5	Bryant	(D)	20	+	+	+
	8	Fields	(R)	17	-	-	-
	9	Brooks	(D)	21	+	+	+
	12	Geren	(D)	17	-	+	+
	18	* Washington	(D)	41	+	+	+
	24	Frost	(D)	32	+	+	+
	25	Andrews	(D)	25	-	+	+
Virginia							
	1	Bateman	(R)	31	-	-	-
	2	Pickett	(D)	23	-	-	+
	3	Bliley	(R)	28	-	-	-
	4	Sisisky	(D)	40	NV	NV	NV
	5	Payne	(D)	25	-	+	+
Wisconsin							
	5	Moody	(D)	28	+	+	+

Training Tomorrow's Work Force

A Joint Center Study Shows Innovative Approaches to Vocational Education Can Prepare Disadvantaged Youth for Jobs of the Future

by Pamela K. Joshi and Joyce E. Allen

By the year 2000, one-third of all new entrants into the work force will be minorities. If they are to succeed in the jobs of the future, they will have to be better educated and possess higher occupational skills than minority youths today. The precarious position of black youths in the labor force is reflected in the high unemployment rate for black teenagers (ages 16 to 19) which was 31.1 percent in 1990, compared to 13.4 percent for white teenagers. This disparity in employment is partly due to lower educational attainment. To better prepare black youths for the work force, innovative approaches to vocational education are critical. Though once perceived as a "dumping ground" for students whom administrators viewed as having limited potential, today vocational education programs feature computer instruction, career planning, and on-the-job training.

A Joint Center study conducted in 1990 shows how eight vocational education programs primarily serving black students in four cities—Atlanta, Baltimore, Richmond, and St. Louis—are preparing them for entry-level jobs and college admission. The programs largely operate through public school systems, but they differ markedly from the "shop" classes of the past that emphasized learning a trade. Today vocational programs not only train students for occupations in fields such as health care, marketing, and graphic arts; they also provide students with broader skills like computer literacy, resume writing, and oral communication that are necessary for overall success in the workplace. One alternative high school, the Harbor City Learning Center in Baltimore, even provides an opportunity for youth who have dropped out of school to obtain General Education Diplomas (GED).

Preparing for Success

Several vocational education programs focus on training for specific occupations. For example, Benjamin E. Mays High School in Atlanta has implemented occupational clusters that train students for job skills in business education, marketing, data processing, home economics, health occupations, graphic arts, industrial technology, construction, and mass communications. Students have the opportunity to take advanced courses in any of these specialized fields.

Recognizing the widespread use of computers in the workplace, today's vocational education programs typically provide students with computer skills. One example is the O'Fallon Technical Center in St. Louis, which offers a daily three-hour course in computer data processing. The course provides detailed instruction in the latest word processing programs, data management, and programming techniques. The business education department at Richmond's John Marshall High School also emphasizes computer technology. Students there may even take courses in artificial intelligence. The number and variety of courses at John Marshall qualify students for entry-level positions as word processors and computer programmers.

Some programs emphasize general skills to prepare students for overall job market success. In Richmond, the New Horizons program, a partnership between the school district and the private sector, offers courses on career exploration, job-finding strategies, resume writing, interviewing techniques, written and oral communication, basic mathematics, and computer literacy. The program is offered in seven Richmond high schools and is only available to students from lower-income families.

In Atlanta, all public high school students are required to take a course entitled Program of Education and Career Exploration (PECE), which introduces them to different career options by combining classroom instruction, field trips, and outside speakers from the private sector. Ruby Johnson, a PECE teacher at Frederick Douglass High School, has recruited business executives to conduct 10-week seminars on such topics as the U.S. economic system, personal economics, and the job interviewing process. According to Johnson the seminars, workshops, and tours of businesses reinforce the lessons covered in class.

Business Partnerships

An essential component of effective vocational education is the work experience at a private company or government agency, which enables students to practice what they have learned in the classroom and also provides needed income. Work experience promotes good behavior and academic achievement among vocational students, since they must typically maintain a "C" average to participate in the program. In addition, if students are absent or suspended from school, they cannot work and lose wages on those days.

Students in vocational programs today tend to be placed in clerical and other office-related jobs. In St. Louis, all

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Ms. Joshi is a research assistant at the Joint Center and Dr. Allen, an economist, is an associate professor at the University of Illinois.

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students in the Ralston Purina On-Site Work-Study program are employed in positions such as clerk or lab assistant for four hours in the afternoon each school day, and they attend academic and vocational classes in the morning at the company. Since the program began in 1968, apart from providing part-time jobs Ralston Purina has donated instructional supplies and classroom space.

In the absence of such work programs, few black, economically disadvantaged inner-city students would have the opportunity to work at major corporations, law firms, and government agencies. Students in the study who found jobs on their own initiative tended to work as cashiers or cooks in fast food restaurants, jobs that offer little potential for career development. Typically, half or more of the New Horizons work experience students have kept their jobs after graduating from the program. From 1984 to 1989, approximately 40 to 60 percent of students who had completed Ralston Purina's On-Site Work-Study program were later hired by the company; in a survey conducted five years ago, the company found that at least 100 of its employees were former participants in the program.

Aside from offering students work experience, businesses contribute to these programs by offering financial support. The New Horizons program was created in 1980 with the help of Richmond's Private Industry Council, a consortium of local business leaders. The Council funded the salaries of the New Horizons staff until the consortium disbanded in 1990. Philip Morris USA has donated funds to subsidize the salaries of New Horizons students employed by smaller Richmond businesses.

Other involvement by the business sector includes the donation of equipment, adopt-a-school projects, and consultation on curriculum development to make courses career-relevant. Businesses also provide mentors, tutors, and speakers to discuss career options. In Atlanta, IBM has adopted the business education department at D.M. Therrell High School; the company has donated computers, trained teachers to use new software, and allowed its employees to take time off from work to tutor students. Joseph Boomer, an IBM manager, said that his office tries to "find pressure points and relieve them with minor financial aid and major personal time."

Choosing the College Option

While much of the emphasis in vocational education is on job training, many vocational teachers encourage students to enroll in courses required for college admission. New Horizons exposes students to college life by holding its summer program at a local community college. About 86 percent of the 214 students surveyed among all the programs planned to attend some type of college—four-year, community, or technical. Some planned to attend full-time and others to attend part-time while working part-time.

These findings refute the stereotype that vocational education is simply for students who have no plans to further their schooling. A majority of these 214 students were enrolled in or had completed algebra I and 46 percent were enrolled in algebra II. This is significant because many educators view algebra as a "gatekeeper course." That is, it teaches students the logical thinking and problem solving skills critical for entry into and success in college, as well as for success in jobs providing upward mobility.

New Horizons conducts a follow-up survey six months to one year after its students graduate. Over the last decade, the results have consistently shown that one-third to one-half of the graduates were already employed, and 50 to 60 percent were attending college.

Supporting Student Participation

Successful vocational education programs address the special needs of disadvantaged students through support services. Inner-city students today are more likely than in the past to be teen parents, to live in poverty, and to need remedial education. Among the programs studied, teachers and administrators often commented that too many students need help with basic academic skills. In the New Horizons program, students are pretested in mathematics, reading, and work maturity, and they receive instruction to help them improve in the areas in which they are deficient. The program's director, Jona McKee, notes, "We do a lot of remediation, more than I think that we ought to have to do, but it is necessary."

Other needed support services include counseling, transportation subsidies, child care facilities, and cultural activities. New Horizons uses funds provided by the Job Training Partnership Act to pay for uniforms students need at their jobs, to buy bus tickets for the work commute, and to pay for child care and medical services.

At the Harbor City Learning Center in Baltimore, a child care center has been established to make attendance easier for teen parents. Students pay only for the cost of a child's meals ($15 a week), which makes the center affordable.

At D.M. Therrell High School in Atlanta, the Coordinated Vocational and Academic Education (CVAE) program serves students who are academically or economically disadvantaged. In addition to work experience, these students receive personal attention through counseling and tutoring. To encourage attendance, CVAE teacher Frances Pope visits students' homes if they are frequently absent.

Many students who attend inner-city schools have little access to cultural or enrichment activities. Some of the vocational programs expose students to such experiences through field trips to ballets, plays, concerts, and local colleges. In St. Louis, Gerald Goclan, a data processing teacher at the O'Fallon Technical Center, cosponsors the "Image Club" to encourage students to get involved in their community. The club sponsors fundraisers and donates some of the money to charity. These activities help give students self-esteem and pride in their school.

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Crime, Crack and Black Youths

The Bush Administration's Proposed Crime Control Legislation Could Send More Minority Youths to Prison

by Katherine McFate and Cheryl Reed

Republican and Democratic members of Congress are battling this session to see who can be "toughest" on crime. Both parties' legislative proposals for a new Violent Crime Control Act expand the list of charges to which the death penalty can be applied and both target those involved in the drug trade for severe penalties. But a small clause in the Bush administration's bill is likely to have an immediate and devastating impact on young drug users in the inner city.

The administration's bill would allow a teenager charged with possession of crack to be tried as an adult. If it passes, a 16-year-old caught with five grams of crack cocaine (the weight of two pennies) could face a five year mandatory prison sentence in an adult penitentiary. (The penalty allowed for juveniles convicted of possession of powdered cocaine would not change.) With the inclusion of this clause, the administration's policy would isolate crack cocaine users for especially harsh penalties. This could have a racially discriminatory effect. Recent statistics from Minnesota show that over 92 percent of those convicted of possessing crack cocaine are black; over 85 percent of those convicted for possession of powdered cocaine are white.

As crack became the major focus of antidrug efforts in the 1980s, the percentage of black juveniles arrested on drug charges rose significantly. In 1985, one in every five juveniles arrested on drug charges was black. Today, one in two is black. Over 60 percent of all juveniles in custody today for all crimes are nonwhite. If the administration's crime bill passes, many more black juveniles will end up doing "hard time."

Unfortunately, the incarceration of ever larger numbers of minority teenagers is likely to do more harm than good. According to recent research by Harvard University Professor Richard Freeman, incarceration has a "major adverse effect on the long-term employment and earnings of young men." Freeman's analysis (of a representative sample of 12,700 youths between the ages of 14 and 21) shows that young men who served time in prison before 1980 had lower hourly earnings and worked 25 percent less during the 1980s than young men with similar characteristics but without prison records. The young ex-prisoners had average annual incomes 45 percent lower than their never-incarcerated peers. Most disturbing, these differences did not diminish over time. Sentencing low-skilled minority youths to prison means sentencing them to long-term—perhaps permanent—economic marginality. This in turn will reduce the number of adult black males available to form stable families, provide financial support for their children, and act as role models in urban neighborhoods.

The "lock 'em up" strategy has not been effective in reducing drug-related violence. Over 320,000 more drug arrests were made in 1989 than 1985. Over twice as many drug offenders were sent to prison in 1991 as in 1986. Today, one of every two federal prisoners is a drug offender. But despite these efforts, narcotics-related murders tripled during this same five-year period.

Nor have higher incarceration rates among drug dealers and users reduced cocaine's availability. The percentage of high school seniors who say cocaine is "easy" or "fairly easy" to obtain rose continuously through the 1980s. Today, about two-thirds of all American high school seniors say it would be easy for them to buy cocaine.

Imprisoning young drug users is not a cost-effective policy response to the drug problem. It can cost more than $11,000 to arrest, book, and try a drug offender; the average cost of incarcerating a juvenile for one year is now $29,000. By comparison, top-of-the line drug treatment in a public facility—four weeks of residential treatment with outpatient counseling—costs about $4,500. Even if a drug abuser must repeat the sequence two or three times to "get straight" (the typical pattern among alcoholics), treatment is a much cheaper way of dealing with drug abusers than prison. Yet the administration's crime bill proposes only a 10 percent increase in treatment funds for 1992.

To combat the cocaine epidemic a comprehensive, long-term antidrug campaign is needed. Senator Joseph Biden's (D-Del.) crime control legislation provides for a more comprehensive antidrug strategy than the White House's proposal. The Biden bill would expand "boot camp" programs as alternatives to prison for young offenders, establish regional facilities for drug-addicted prisoners, and provide funds to combat juvenile gangs and drug abuse by youths. It would also target special assistance to the cities hit hardest by the drug crisis.

Senior urban law enforcement officials and health providers agree that an antidrug strategy that focuses exclusively on enforcement and punishment is ineffective and an inefficient use of limited public resources. Only by investing in drug treatment, new efforts at post-prison rehabilitation, and the expansion of economic opportunities for minority youth will we be able to win the war on illegal drugs in our central cities. ■

Ms. McFate is a senior research associate and Ms. Reed is a research assistant at the Joint Center.

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Barriers to Black Male Participation

Among the programs visited, there are also some impediments to student participation, especially for black males. The New Horizons program stresses dressing for success and students are prohibited from wearing jeans or athletic shoes. Students are not allowed to wear their hair in braids, and male students are banned from wearing earrings. Athletes find it difficult to participate in New Horizons and other work experience programs because team practices and games often conflict with working hours.

Marshall Marks, head of the vocational education department at John Marshall High School, observes that there are few black male business teachers in Richmond. He would like to see more of them participate so they could serve as role models for black male students. The New Horizons program provides evidence that male teachers can make a difference in attracting male students. In the six New Horizons classes taught by women the majority of students were female, but in the class taught by Raymond Johnson (the only male teacher in the program) over half of the students were young men.

Key Ingredients for Success

The study shows that the following factors contribute to an effective vocational education program: strong leadership by principals and other administrators; teachers who take a personal interest in their students, stress academics, and believe that all students are capable of learning; career planning programs; support services; work experience programs; and follow-up documentation of student outcomes. Although all the schools included in the study had elements that make a program exemplary, other elements were sometimes missing. Deficiencies tended to be in career planning and the provision of support services such as child care facilities accessible to all teen parents.

The business sector can play a critical role in program success by providing jobs for students. However, the study found wide fluctuations in the availability of jobs. In one program, only a few jobs were available, while at another the vocational instruction was entirely based at a major corporation that provided jobs for all the students. Further to ensure full student participation, both private companies and government agencies need to be more consistent in providing jobs. Even award-winning programs such as New Horizons are now having problems placing all students in entry-level jobs, in part because of the recession and in part because of the dissolution of the Private Industry Council, which had served as a liaison between the school system and the business sector.

The low number of black male students enrolled in business education suggests they should be targeted for special recruitment and that barriers to their participation should be addressed. Greater recruitment of black male teachers could help to increase black male enrollment.

Many of the vocational education programs analyzed in the study lacked historical data on students' endeavors after graduation. To improve accountability, it is important that the programs establish longitudinal data bases to track graduates' progress. In a time of tight budgets, documenting the achievement of former students is often key to increasing or maintaining funding.

Given that minorities will comprise a larger proportion of the work force in the future, vocational education programs that successfully address the needs of black students should be identified and replicated. When the elements of successful vocational education programs are implemented they can provide black, economically disadvantaged students with the academic and job related skills they need to succeed in the workplace of the future. ■

Editor's Note: This article is based on a forthcoming report from the Joint Center Project on Skills Acquisition by Disadvantaged Youth, which was funded by the National Center for Research in Vocational Education.

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PERSPECTIVE

Health and the Politics of Inclusiveness

We used to say that when white folks catch a cold, black folks get pneumonia, meaning that we, as a group, have had the problem a lot longer and have fared much worse than others. This aphorism comes to mind when I think about the so-called emerging health crisis in the nation today. It is an emerging crisis for those who are just now experiencing excessive health care costs or discovering a growing population of uninsured people. Blacks have lived with these shocking facts for a long time.

The contours of the crisis are quite clear. While the American health care system can provide the most technologically advanced medical care in the world, more than 40 million citizens are not adequately covered by insurance. Another 37 million have no medical insurance at all; by 1996 their number is expected to reach 60 million. The United States spends a higher percentage of its gross national product on health care than any other nation in the world, yet 11 million children receive inadequate care and seven million no regular care at all. Policymakers and providers agree that even if adequate health care financing were universally available, access to quality care would continue to be a major national problem.

For black Americans, these problems have had a disproportionate and devastating impact: blacks have the highest overall cancer rate of any group in the country, and black deaths resulting from cancer are increasing at four times the rate among whites. Black males under age 45 are 10 times more likely to die from hypertension than white males. The prevalence of diabetes is approximately one-third higher among blacks than whites. Infant mortality rates for blacks are nearly twice those of whites. And black women are almost four times as likely to die during childbirth as white women.

These appalling statistics can be traced directly to a number of deeply entrenched problems, including inadequate health education, limited access to health care, late diagnosis and treatment of illnesses and diseases, and inadequate insurance. The overriding reason the black health profile is not as good as the white profile, however, is that black people are disproportionately poor. This is not to say that blacks must be wealthier before they can be healthier. Rather, it says that blacks, more than other groups, are born into poverty and have a harder time getting out. It is also clear that poor health adversely affects educational achievement, employment and economic advancement, and thus perpetuates the poverty treadmill.

What is needed to address these problems is a broad-based, progressive health-care reform coalition that is powerful enough to get politicians' attention and mobilize the society's political will. Because blacks are major stakeholders in any attempts to reform health care, the National Medical Association, the professional organization of black physicians, must be at the core of such a coalition. In addition, we must educate and motivate all elements of the black community and attract allies among civil rights and women's groups, enlightened corporations and labor unions, parents and teachers, liberals and conservatives.

To assist in this effort, the Joint Center is now committed to a major new health policy program that has three basic goals: to provide information on health-related issues pertaining to the black population; to expand the knowledge and awareness of black leaders in the health policy arena; and to facilitate coalition building across racial lines. Through the power of information and politics, we can influence the policies that affect not only the quality of our health but all aspects of our lives. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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FBI Chief Discusses Racism, Drug War

William Sessions Says the Bureau Is More Accountable Than Before to Congress and Denies Targeting Black Elected Officials

On May 21, FBI director William Sessions met with the staff of the Joint Center for a "brown bag" lunch and discussion about a range of issues the Bureau is grappling with. Sessions practiced law in Waco, Texas, from 1958 until 1969 when he joined the Criminal Division of the U.S. Justice Department. In 1971 he was appointed U.S. attorney for the Western District of Texas, and three years later he became a federal district judge for the Western District, where he served until 1987 when he was named by President Reagan to head the FBI.

Created in 1908 as the Bureau of Investigation, the FBI was dominated by one director, J. Edgar Hoover, from 1924 until Hoover's death in 1972. Under Hoover, the Bureau rose from relative obscurity to become one of the most effective law enforcement and counterintelligence agencies in the world. It also grew to be feared by citizens of every rank and station because of the files it maintained on millions of Americans, including civil rights activists and Vietnam War protesters, and organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups.

Today the Bureau has more than 23,000 employees, including 10,145 special agents. They staff 56 field offices and over 400 satellite offices. The Bureau's mandated activities include investigations of organized crime, white collar crime, public corruption, bribery, civil rights violations, bank robbery, extortion, kidnapping, air piracy, terrorism, foreign counterintelligence, and narcotics trafficking. Its state-of-the-art laboratory and law enforcement training facility serve police departments across the nation.

***FOCUS**: Minorities are poorly represented among FBI agents and the Bureau has been charged with racism on numerous occasions. How are you addressing this?*

Sessions: We must ensure that the Bureau is fair, impartial, nonracist, and nondiscriminatory. This policy should be driven not by the courts or by controversy but by the operational needs of the Bureau. The question is, are minorities going to be placed in dead-end jobs where they have no opportunities for training and promotion?

In the year 2000, our work force will be comprised of 15 percent white males and 85 percent immigrants, females, and minorities. In the first eight years that I will have served as director, we could lose as much as 55 percent of our special agent force. Soon 85 percent of the top-level management of the FBI will be eligible for retirement. If the Bureau is not perceived as being a fair, nondiscriminatory place to work, then it will be impossible for the agency to function and carry out its responsibilities.

I don't intend to sidestep the issue of fair employment at all but to take it directly head-on. We have begun to take corrective actions in the sense of examining and modifying programs to be sure we do not have unfairness or discrimination—may God forbid racism. We are now of talking with a number of black special agents whose complaints arose out of 10 unresolved equal employment opportunity matters. I went directly to them, feeling that we could not benefit further in the Bureau from litigation, and asked, "What are the problems?" They gave me 19 of them. I told them from the beginning, "This is not a substitute for your litigation if you choose to go forward with it."

I find it very healthy to attack these kinds of employment issues directly and with understanding. One of these days we're going to find that somebody will be able to walk up to a supervisor and say, "You're a discriminator and you're racist in what you've done." And the supervisor will say, "I realize that, I didn't think about that. Tell me where it is and let's discuss it and let's get rid of it rather than having it end up in an EEO complaint that has to be processed and investigated." Then we will have a true open grievance mechanism based on understanding and a willingness to be fair.

***FOCUS**: What is your response to charges that the FBI is targeting black elected officials for prosecution?*

Sessions: My response is the same now as it was to Dr. Benjamin Hooks' earlier statements about the Bureau's involvement in targeting black elected officials. It is absolutely essential, in my view, that you fight corruption where you find it. In South Carolina four of 11 legislators that were indicted were black. In Mississippi, in a long-term investigation, there were 79 or 80 county supervisors indicated and five of them, as it turned out, were black. I do not intend to back off of the pursuit of these cases.

No matter what community they come from, my feeling is that the community ought to stand and cheer that you get the rascals out who are doing things which violate their oath and responsibility. I want to convey to you it is my intent to be sensitive. My insistence is that the FBI must not be involved in targeting a specific group for non-articulated reasons. The law requires that you articulate your reasons. Specifically articulated facts lead to a probable cause, lead to indictments, lead to prosecutions.

***FOCUS**: It is the perception of some in the black community that the country's drug policy targets users and is not doing enough to stem the flow of illegal drugs.*

Sessions: Many people in America are concerned about the disproportion of incarceration of black Americans, especially black males. It seems to me that it's abso-

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Sessions

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lutely essential that we pursue our responsibilities regardless of race. If you took the product of the Bureau's National Drug Strategy, you would probably find that it is disproportionately strong in four areas. Probably first would be Hispanic, second would be Italians associated with the Cosa Nostra, third might be Sicilians and/or Asians, and fourth would probably be blacks. Is that targeting? In a sense it is because there are 450 major drug trafficking organizations from Central and South America and from Italy.

It is estimated that blacks may be 12 percent of the drug users, yet in arrests, convictions, and incarceration they are 50 percent. It is these kinds of statistics that give rise to the perception of selective treatment or harassment.

The Bureau's responsibility in the drug war is not interdiction, it is not destruction. It is not any of those things that relate to pharmaceutical drugs or marijuana or other drugs in the United States. It directly deals with major drug trafficking organizations that deal in heroin and cocaine. We work to identify organizations, determine the roles of members of the organization—whether it's supplying, manufacturing, laundering money, gathering money, moving money, or keeping people in line.

We do that with the idea of obtaining indictments, seizing assets, putting the organization out of business, and, hopefully, putting its members in the penitentiary. The point is to destroy the organization's trafficking capability. Beyond that our responsibility is to gather intelligence to share with all law enforcement agencies, to try to predict as best we can what the trends are and to then get the support of local law enforcement. And I will never, ever agree that we should legalize drugs or that we should do anything other than have strong law enforcement, strong rehabilitation, and strong education where we can get it.

FOCUS*: What role does the FBI play in investigating hate crimes?*

Sessions: Hate crimes are unlawful acts designed to harm or frighten an individual because of race, religion, or ethnic background. They can range from verbal intimidation to murder. Not only does the victim of the crime suffer, but the group the victim belongs to and, ultimately, our entire society suffer as well.

As a result of the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990, which became law on April 23, 1990, the attorney general tasked the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program with developing and implementing a national collection program and providing training for law enforcement officers in identifying hate crimes. The information being collected for this program is based on four factors—race, religion, sexual orientation, and ethnic origin.

Hate crimes are investigated by the FBI under two of our criminal investigative programs—our civil rights program, which deals with individuals, and our counterterrorism program, which deals with groups. Investigations into allegations of police brutality make up about 50 percent of our civil rights cases. During 1990 there was a total of 93 convictions and pretrial diversions in the FBI's civil rights program, including 58 federal convictions and 35 state and local convictions, where the FBI contributed significantly to case resolution.

FOCUS*: When the Justice Department conducts a background check on a prospective federal employee, does it still ask about that person's membership in organizations that Justice may consider to be subversive?*

Sessions: All applicants to positions that require background investigations must complete a standard government application form (Standard Form 86), which specifically asks whether the individual has been an officer or member of, or made contributions to, an organization that is dedicated to the violent overthrow of the United States government and is engaged in illegal activities to that end. This form also asks the applicant whether he or she knowingly engaged in any act or activities designed to overthrow the United States government by force. The answers to those questions, among others, are actively and independently corroborated through FBI investigation.

FOCUS*: How are the FBI files that have been amassed on civil rights leaders being handled?*

Sessions: We are maintaining in our files only such information about an individual as is relevant and necessary to accomplish a purpose required of the FBI by statute or by executive order of the President. FBI files are maintained in accordance with the regulations governing the maintenance and disposition of records and in accordance with the Privacy Act of 1974.

FOCUS*: The distrust of the FBI continues in minority communities. What is the Bureau doing to change how it is perceived? Will officials in the FBI and the Department of Justice admit that there are discrepancies in how justice is administered among different American communities? Would you, as the director of the FBI, disavow J. Edgar Hoover's policies regarding Martin Luther King Jr. in the 1950s and '60s? And will you apologize for those actions?*

Sessions: Mrs. King is not asking me for an apology. She is asking me to pursue in good faith a reconciliation that can only come about if I take her lead or she takes my lead. I have never gone back and looked at those things that are reported in the media, that Mr. Hoover did. This is a different time in terms of statutes, guidelines, and procedures that the Bureau must adhere to. I do not resent the attorney general's guidelines or being accountable to congressional oversight committees for what I do. The point is: I believe that the public is entitled to get from and insist upon a Bureau that operates under the law and under the Constitution. And if you find an FBI director who is not doing that, then that director is accountable. Brutality, illegal conduct, illegal wiretapping, illegal anything must not be tolerated within or without a law enforcement agency. ■

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

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Job Discrimination Against Blacks Continues

As President Bush sits poised to veto the civil rights legislation, a recent Urban Institute study reveals that race-based employment discrimination in America is alive and thriving. The Institute, a nonprofit research organization in Washington, D.C., found that in cases where equally qualified black and white men were seeking the same entry-level positions in Chicago and Washington, D.C., white men advanced in the hiring process (submitting applications and gaining interviews) 20 percent of the time while black men only did so seven percent of the time. It also found that white men received job offers three times more often than their equally qualified black counterparts.

The report concludes that unequal treatment of black job seekers is entrenched and widespread. The research contradicts the popular claims that hiring practices today favor blacks systematically or are effectively colorblind and that reverse discrimination is commonplace. It also contradicts a widely held view that blacks seeking employment are more likely to be discriminated against in the suburbs than in central cities.

Entitled *Opportunities Denied, Opportunities Diminished: Discrimination in Hiring*, the study was conducted in the summer of 1990. Ten teams of two men each—one black and one white —sought entry-level positions advertised in the *Washington Post* and the *Chicago Tribune*. The pairs of participants were matched in age, physical size, education, work experience, and speaking ability. They were trained to conduct themselves similarly in an interview setting so that any pattern of differences in treatment by employers would have to be attributed to race. The pairs applied for 476 randomly selected jobs from various industries, including retail, manufacturing, construction, business and personal services, hotel, restaurant, and banking and finance.

The study found that certain job categories are more likely than others to feature discriminatory hiring. "Blacks are more likely to encounter discrimination in entry-level white collar jobs and in jobs involving direct client contact," says **MARGERY TURNER**, one of the three Urban Institute researchers who wrote the report. Blacks were sometimes "steered" to a job with lower salary and fewer responsibilities than the one they applied for. They were also more likely to encounter discrimination when applying for jobs such as clerical and sales positions requiring contact with the public.

More incidents of discrimination were observed in the nation's capital than in Chicago. Whites advanced further than blacks in the job seeking process 23 percent of the time in Washington, while in Chicago, whites were ahead 17 percent of the time. Additionally, 60 percent of the time in Washington blacks were treated "unfavorably" — subjected to long waits for scheduled interviews, discouraging remarks from prospective employers, and perfunctory interviews. There was no discernible difference in job interview treatment, however, between whites and blacks in Chicago. The report noted that unfavorable interview treatment usually indicated slim chances of getting hired.

In a similar study by the Institute last year among whites and Hispanics, Hispanics were found to be even more likely than blacks to be victims of discrimination. Whites advanced further along in the hiring process than did their Hispanic counterparts in 31 percent of the cases, compared to a 20 percent differential in the current white-black study. This new study concludes, "pressures to dismantle civil rights enforcement are premature, and in light of the prevalence of disparate treatment in the hiring process, greater efforts are needed to detect discrimination and provide victims with access to justice."

Court Rules That Voting Rights Act Covers Judges

In June, a 6-to-3 majority of the U.S. Supreme Court declared that the Voting Rights Act covers the election of state and local judges. The Court determined that the word *representatives* in Section 2 of the Act, as amended in 1982, included judges because it meant all elected officials. The decision was based on two lawsuits emanating from Texas and Louisiana. In *Houston Lawyers' Association* v. *Attorney General of Texas*, blacks and Mexican-Americans argued that the at-large scheme for electing trial judges in Texas counties had diminished their ability to elect the judges of their choice. Of the 386 elected district judges in Texas, only nine are black. In the other case, *Chisom* v. *Roemer*, the Bush administration joined forces with the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund to argue that Louisiana's election laws have diluted the impact of minority votes. Five of the seven members of the Louisiana State Supreme Court are elected from "single-member" districts but two are elected from a combined "multi-member" district in Orleans Parish. The effect has been to submerge New Orleans' majority-black population within the whole district's larger white majority.

The Supreme Court holding in the two cases was narrow, but its potential impact is great. The justices did not determine whether Louisiana and Texas actually violated the Voting Rights Act; that question is left to the lower courts. Forty-one states must now make sure that their election laws do not violate the Voting Rights Act with regard to the election of judges. After the decision was announced, **SHERRILYN A. IFILL**, assistant counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, said: "The Supreme Court's rulings today are an unequivocal pronouncement that the political process in this country must be open to equal participation by all Americans."

Americans Not Politically Apathetic, But Disillusioned

In the last three presidential elections, nearly half of the nation's eligible population did not vote. National voter turnout was 52.5, 53.3, and 50.2 percent in 1980, 1984, and 1988 respectively. These numbers have prompted observers to characterize America's electorate as politically apathetic. However, a new study released this month by the Kettering Foundation, a Dayton, Ohio based research institution devoted to "putting the public back into politics," finds that Americans are not so much apathetic as angry and disillusioned because they perceive themselves to be "shut out of politics and politically impotent." "They feel government no longer solves our problems and they are mad as the devil," says **RICHARD HARWOOD**, author of the Kettering study, which is entitled *Citizens and Politics: A View from Main Street America*.

Based on focus group discussions in 10 cities throughout the country, the study concludes that although Americans are disillusioned with politics, they have not lost interest in public policy issues, particularly at the local level. One of the focus group participants said, "It's not that people no longer have a sense of civic duty, but it's that they don't have a sense of power." Among the findings in the study are the following:

There exists a fundamental lack of trust and confidence in public officials as a group. Citizens feel that public officials are seldom honest and do not level with their constituents. They believe that public officials are not really interested in the concerns of their constituency and that their overtures to solicit public opinion through public meetings, surveys, and letters are merely window dressing, rather than serious attempts to hear the public.

Citizens view politics as a system spiraling beyond their control, one in which the individual has no real voice. The study says politics is viewed as a "leviathan made up of all-too-powerful special interests, lobbyists, and political action committees" that wield the real power. The study found that negative campaigning, exorbitant campaign costs, and broken campaign promises have caused many to turn away from elections and politics.

Citizens are leery of the media. They believe that media coverage of politics focuses on controversy, negative campaigning, and "sound bites over substance." They want the media to flesh out issues and help them understand the political and public policy jargon—what the issues are and how they affect the citizenry.

Despite these fears and complaints, the study points out, citizens have not altogether shirked their civic duty. Instead they have shifted focus, concentrating their political energies at the local level in neighborhood associations, school boards, and crime watch organizations, areas where they feel there are opportunities to bring about and witness change.

The study concludes that society's challenge is to reconnect citizens and politics—to find a place for citizens in the political process. According to the authors, merely making adjustments in campaign finance laws, ethics codes, term limits for elected officials, and other "quick-fix" efforts will not address the underlying problems main street Americans find in politics.

The authors issued several recommendations to meet the challenge, including: identifying ways to refocus the political debate on policy issues, rather than emphasizing political scandals, personalities, and mud-slinging; encouraging the media to focus more on the public dimension of policy issues, how the issues affect voters; and finding ways to change citizens' and public officials' views of one another's roles in the policy process. Participants in the study represented a cross section of the population by age, race, sex, income, education, and region. The cities surveyed included Philadelphia, Richmond, Los Angeles, Seattle, Memphis, Denver, Des Moines, Dallas, Boston, and Indianapolis.

Thurgood Marshall Retires from the Supreme Court

The retirement of Justice **THURGOOD MARSHALL** from the Supreme Court invites reflection on the life of a great American who has devoted 50 years to making this country a more just place. President Bush has nominated appeals court judge **CLARENCE THOMAS** to fill the vacancy left by Marshall's retirement. Marshall made history as the first Afro-American justice on the Supreme Court. He remains the nation's most revered civil rights lawyer, having had perhaps as much influence over the Court when he was the director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund as he has had on the bench of the nation's highest court. His historic victory in the 1954 *Brown* v. *Board of Education* case was the initial blow to the system of separate education for black and white children. Perhaps more importantly, the *Brown* case expanded the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment to apply to other civil rights protections, paving the way for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and, ultimately, for the destruction of all forms of segregation across the South and in other parts of the country. During his 24-year tenure on the Court, Marshall has been a champion of the rights of ordinary citizens, especially those with too little power or wherewithal to influence the judicial process.

Born in Baltimore in 1908, Marshall personally experienced the evils of segregation. He has been the only one of his contemporaries on the bench whose legal experience included defense of clients accused of murder. Many of his clients in the 1940s were black victims of a capricious system of racial subjugation practiced in the deep South. One man he agreed to defend was lynched before Marshall could take up his case. Based on those experiences as a defense attorney, Marshall has opposed capital punishment throughout his High Court tenure, condemning it as unconstitutional.

Working together with other justices of historic influence—including Chief Justice **EARL WARREN**, **WILLIAM BRENNAN**, **WILLIAM O. DOUGLA**s, and later **HARRY BLACKMUN**—Marshall helped write decisions that have narrowed the gap between the literal text of the law and the broader concept of justice. He joined with these others in finding that the right to privacy is implied in the Constitution, affirming as legal principle that ordinary citizens have a right to be left alone. He was also in the majority in the historic *Roe* v. *Wade* decision, which permits abortions in the first trimester of pregnancy. This was an important ruling for poor women: before the advent of *Roe*, safe abortions were a privilege for those who could afford to fly to Mexico or Europe, while back-alley operations left thousands of low-income women permanently and sometimes fatally injured. Marshall will be missed as a force in the nation's justice system. We shall not see his like on the High Court again.

ACROSS THE NATION

COLORADO: The street-level, hand-pumping campaign of Denver City Auditor **WELLINGTON WEBB**, 50, helped him beat the odds to became the city's first black mayor. He was elected auditor in 1987 after losing his bid for mayor in 1983. In a June runoff election Webb defeated the favored candidate, black district attorney and fellow Democrat **NORMAN EARLY**, by 16 percentage points. "This is a victory of grassroots over slick media campaigning. This is a victory of shoe leather over airwaves," Webb said.

Among a field of 10 candidates during the May 21 primary, Early captured 41 percent and Webb garnered 30 percent of the vote. But three days before the runoff, opinion polls showed the candidates were less than five points apart with Webb in the lead. Webb's come-from-behind victory is attributed to his ability to "capture the mood and tenor of the times," says **FLOYD CIRULI**, a political pollster and analyst in the city. Ciruli says Denver residents have become concerned about the upward trend of municipal spending.

Webb's campaign message stressed restraint and better financial management of the city. A number of economic development projects undertaken in the past eight years have included several big-ticket items such as a new airport and a convention center. Plans are also underway for the construction of an airline maintenance facility and a stadium to accommodate the city's expansion baseball team in 1993. Because the pricetags for these projects range from $100 million to $3 billion each, residents feel it's time to slow down on spending. Webb took office on July 1, succeeding Democrat **FEDERICO PENA**, the city's first Hispanic mayor, who opted not to run for a third term.

GEORGIA: Governor **ZELL MILLER** has named two blacks, **MICHAEL E. HANCOCK** and **W. LOUIS SANDS**, to state superior court judgeships. They will preside over courts of general jurisdiction, hearing civil lawsuits and criminal cases as well as appeals from lower courts.

Hancock is a former assistant public defender and DeKalb County solicitor who has served as the chief judge of Recorders Court in Dekalb County. The 41-year-old graduate of Emory University Law School will sit on the Stone Mountain Superior Court Circuit in north Georgia.

Sands, 42, was appointed to the Macon Superior Court Circuit, which has jurisdiction over three middle Georgia counties. A graduate of Mercer University Law School, Sands is a partner in a Macon law firm and has served as a state and federal prosecutor. This is the first time a black person has been appointed to either circuit. The appointments of Hancock and Sands brings the number of black superior court judges to eight out of the state's total of 135.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: After 12 years of heated debate and failed efforts, the state legislature has "sort of" approved a holiday to commemorate the birth of **MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR**. In May the legislature passed—and Republican governor **JUDD GREGG** signed into law—a bill recognizing the third Monday in January as "Civil Rights Day" (CRD), a paid state holiday. The holiday provides for the "recognition of the courage, determination, and personal sacrifice of the many people from a variety of cultural backgrounds who fought and died in the struggle to gain freedom and equality for all individuals." But the bill does not specifically mention Dr. King. The law represents a compromise between supporters and opponents of the King holiday in the legislature. Plans are in progress to introduce legislation to rename the day after Dr. King when the mood in the legislature is more receptive. The first CRD celebration will be January 20, 1992.

PENNSYLVANIA: Former district attorney **EDWARD RENDELL** captured the Democratic nomination for mayor in the May 21 Philadelphia primary. Winning 48.6 percent of the vote, Rendell, who is white, defeated two black former city council members **LUCIEN BLACKWELL** and **GEORGE R. BURRELL, JR.**, who received 26.2 and 14.2 percent of the vote, respectively.

The city's former mayor and police commissioner, Republican **FRANK RIZZO** won the GOP with a winning margin of less than one percentage point over **RONALD CASTILLE**, a former district attorney. Rizzo died unexpectedly of a heart attack on July 16 and the GOP selected **JOSEPH M. EGAN** as its new nominee. Egan is a developer who enjoys little name recognition outside Republican Party circles.

The GOP has not held the mayor's seat for more than 40 years. **W. WILSON GOODE**, the city's first black mayor, is prevented by law from seeking a third consecutive term.

WISCONSIN: **FRANCES HUNDLEY-COOPER** of Fitchburg became the first black person elected mayor in the state when she defeated fellow city council member **ALAN COLVIN** on April 2. Two weeks later, the 39-year-old social worker was sworn in as mayor of the predominately white, middle-class town of 15,648, which has a black population of less than two percent. Cooper has been a member of the city council since 1987; during her tenure she chaired the personnel and finance committees. Her candidacy was supported by the town's state representative and two former mayors, including outgoing Mayor Tom Capp.

African Summit: Forming New Bonds

A Delegation of African-American Leaders Met With African Officials to Expand Trans-Atlantic Economic and Technological Cooperation

by Niara Sudarkasa

Dr. Sudarkasa is president of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and was a member of the African-American planning committee and delegation to a summit meeting with African leaders in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, held on April 17 through 19 of this year. This article is her assessment of the summit and the follow-up steps that lie ahead.

The first Africans to arrive in the United States came on a cramped slave ship in 1619. Nearly 400 years later, in April 1991, a crowded chartered plane took some 300 African-Americans back to their motherland for an unprecedented summit meeting with African leaders, including heads of state, heads of government, cabinet ministers, and ambassadors from 24 independent nations. Altogether, about 2,000 African and African-American delegates, observers, and officials from international agencies based in Abidjan gathered for this first-of-a-kind summit in Abidjan, capital of Cote d'Ivoire, hosted by that country's venerable president, Felix Houphouet-Boigny. This first African/African-American summit was conceived, convened, and chaired by the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, founder of the job training program, Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC), and architect of the Sullivan Principles, the 1977 guidelines that laid the ground rules for equitable treatment of black employees by American companies doing business in South Africa.

The purpose of the Abidjan summit was to initiate a program of cooperation and collaboration between Africans and African-Americans to promote Africa's development in several vital areas, including economics, education, agriculture, and health. The summit was also a fulfillment of the century-old dream of W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey and others who sought to build a bridge of cooperation to span the technological and cultural distance between Africans and African-Americans.

The Abidjan summit differed significantly from earlier Pan-African conferences. Its mission was much more practical and pragmatic. And its financial base was built from a combination of American corporate interests and black community interests that could provide a strong continuing source of support for the summit's plan of action.

Broad Participation Sets Summit Apart

In terms of its potential long-range impact, no aspect of the summit was more significant than the great variety of its participants. The American delegates and participants were not a homogeneous group of intellectuals and political activists. Nor was there a dominant ideology among them as there had been with the DuBoisian Pan-Africanists, on the one hand, and the Garveyites on the other.

The African-American contingent was a diverse group of mainstream leaders: members of Congress, heads of national civil rights organizations, mayors, college presidents, civic and religious leaders, business executives, professionals, and scholars. Forty college students, who attended as junior delegates, were sponsored by corporate donations. Many in the U.S. delegation are in positions to mobilize support for Africa among millions within their constituencies if they can convince them that the effort will be mutually beneficial. The occupational, political, generational, and geographic heterogeneity of the group that boarded the plane with Sullivan in New York made it seem like a latter-day Noah's ark. Sullivan's ark contained a representative group of African-Americans, brought together out of a belief that Africa would survive the trials, tribulations, and torment now being rained down upon it and see new growth and prosperity after the storm has passed.

On the African side, the summit was also unique. This was the first time African states had sent official delegations to meet with African-Americans. Of course, many of the earlier meetings had taken place during the colonial era, before African countries had independent governments. Nevertheless, it is significant that heads of state, heads of government, ambassadors, ministers, and other officials came to Abidjan to meet with private citizens in what both sides agreed was a historic meeting. The summit was unprecedented not only in representing a broad spectrum of nations and interests; it was also exceptional in its emphasis on setting "achievable goals," a phrase first used in an impromptu speech by Nigeria's former president, General Olusegun Obasanjo. This phrase was immediately picked up and used throughout the meeting to emphasize the importance of crafting concrete programs of action with realistic timetables for their accomplishment.

Setting "Achievable Goals"

The call for financial, technical, and professional cooperation between Africa and African-Americans emphasized concrete programs with realistic timetables. Many of the recommendations from summit workshops provided models for such programs. In the education workshops, for example, many concrete recommendations were made by

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African-American Summit

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the ministers of education from Uganda, Botswana, and the Ivory Coast, as well as by panelists and participants from the World Bank, U.S.A.I.D., the African Development Bank, African universities, and historically black (as well as some predominantly white) American colleges and universities.

Dr. Ruth Love, former superintendent of the Chicago School System, recommended teacher training institutes throughout Africa to help prepare master teachers; a joint African/African-American curriculum development program; a continent-wide literacy project, in which every high school or college graduate would be required to teach at least one person to read and write; and student and teacher exchanges in high schools and colleges. Others called for scientific collaboration and a massive campaign to collect books, computers, and other equipment for African schools. A proposal was also forwarded to send a corps of 1,000 African-American teachers to the continent.

In the financial arena, in health, agriculture, trade, and industry, a number of specific initiatives were also proposed. For example, the body called for more African and African-American business partnerships and an investment fund to create an International Bank of Africa in the private sector. Two recommendations that were unanimously approved were the creation of opportunities for dual citizenship for African-Americans in participating African countries and U.S. government forgiveness of all of sub-Saharan African debt.

Next Step: Implementation

A planning team headed by Dr. C.T. Wright, executive director of Sullivan's International Foundation for Education and Self-Help, expects to release the summit's proceedings and a more detailed plan of action before the end of this year.

Sullivan's personal leadership and contacts are the key to moving positively and quickly to action in the summit's wake. By late June he had already met with various leaders who were at the summit as well as some who could not attend, to establish committees that will take the lead in implementing the summit's major recommendations. On July 17, he and four other summit participants reported on recommendations to the Senate Subcommittee on Africa.

There are a number of hurdles that must be cleared if the purpose of the summit is to be achieved. First, there is the fact that some African states were conspicuously absent or underrepresented as the meeting. Nigeria's head of state was expected, but did not come. Zimbabwe and a number of other influential countries were not represented at all. With the exception of the Ivory Coast, the countries represented by their heads of state were among the smallest on the continent. It remains to be seen whether, or to what extent, the vision of a new African/African-American covenant of cooperation will be embraced by the most influential of the sub-Saharan African countries.

A second potential obstacle to the successful follow-up of the summit lies in the difficulty of getting the leadership and the rank and file in the African-American community to give high priority to programs that will benefit Africa. Once we left Abidjan, everyone returned to their own personal and institutional agendas that leave little room for an action item on Africa. Opposition to apartheid in South Africa is about as much of a commitment to Africa as many African-Americans are willing to make.

One key to mobilizing African-Americans on behalf of Africa will be educating them to see the continent in a more positive light. Although some of those who went to Abidjan were knowledgeable about Africa, and a few were experts, it is fair to say that most people on the trip knew very little about the continent but probably had more information about Africa than the average person on the street.

Increasing trade with Africa, investing in industries and other institutions, establishing new educational programs, transferring technology, and creating new jobs all require substantial capital outlays. Without concrete benefits for African-Americans, there is little likelihood that altruism alone will lead them to put significant resources into Africa's development.

The development effort envisioned by the summit will require commitments of billions of dollars. Not all of it can or should come from the black community. In order to induce the U.S. public and private sectors to increase investment in sub-Saharan Africa, the African-American community must develop strategies to leverage its buying power and voting power.

Finally, one must ask whether there are leaders waiting in the wings who are willing to help Sullivan in this massive effort. The plan is too big and the time frame too long to expect any one man, especially an elder, to bear sole responsibility for its implementation, even in the early stages.

A Century-Old Vision

The legacies of Du Bois, Garvey, and others remind us that although this recent meeting of Africans and African-Americans in Abidjan was the first that could properly be called a summit, it was by no means the first attempt to involve the overseas sons and daughters of Africa in the development of their motherland. It is significant that at the close of the 20th century, nearly one hundred years after the first Pan-African Conference, the children of Africa are still seeking to realize the century-old vision of mutual help and assistance.

The summit was a celebration that energized participants with its seriousness of purpose and its optimism. In the final analysis, the success of the summit will hinge on the ability of its organizers and participants to implement the recommendations that form the new covenant between Africans and Africa's descendants in America. Reverend Leon H. Sullivan said it best: "T.T.T.—things take time." To that formulation one must add two more elements. Things also take effort—from summit participants and the others they can marshal. And things take the follow-through that can make of the summit's vision a reality. ■

The Promise of More Black Judges

New Joint Center Roster Shows Practically No Growth in Black Judges in Four Years, But a Supreme Court Ruling May Bring an Increase

by David E. Anderson

Just a week before Justice Thurgood Marshall announced his retirement, the Supreme Court ruled that provisions of the Voting Rights Act are applicable to the 41 states where judges are elected. To civil rights lawyers and minority voters, this ruling means that the struggle to reshape the nation's state-level judiciary, especially in the South, may finally bear fruit.

University of Virginia law professor Pamela Karlan, one of the lawyers who has sued on behalf of black Louisiana voters, calls state judiciaries "the last plantation of government." The High Court's June 20th 6-to-3 ruling in *Chisom* v. *Roemer* and *Houston Lawyers* v. *Texas Attorney General* should help change that situation. "The implications are that courts will be striking down at-large judicial elections where voting is racially polarized and blacks' votes are diluted," says Frank Parker, director of the Voting Rights Project of the Washington, D.C.-based Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

In 1986, a survey by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies found there were 824 black federal, state and local judicial officials and 17 quasi-judicial officials among more than 12,000 full-time judges in the nation. Hispanics made up an even more minuscule number—150. New figures in the Joint Center's *Elected and Appointed Black Judges in the United States, 1991*, a roster of black judicial officials (released in July), show virtually no change in the number of blacks holding judgeships despite significant growth among black elected officials holding other posts. According to the figures, there are 867 black federal and state judges and 29 blacks holding quasi-judicial offices. In the five years since the Joint Center's first judicial roster appeared, only Connecticut and Georgia have appointed blacks to their supreme courts. In Alabama, the number of blacks elected to the state's three highest courts has grown from 9 to 11.

Equally disturbing—but perhaps not surprising—is that the number of black federal judges actually declined during the second term of the Reagan administration and the first term of the Bush administration, from 74 in 1986 to 44 in 1991. On U.S. appeals courts, the number of black judges dropped from 11 to 9, while on the U.S. district benches, the number fell from 41 to 34.

President Bush nominated seven blacks to federal judgeships out of a total of 130 judicial nominations (not including Clarence Thomas who was appointed to the court of appeals for the District of Columbia in March 1990 and recently nominated to replace the retiring Marshall). Hispanics have done little better; Bush has nominated just four Hispanics to the federal bench.

Among the issues addressed by the Supreme Court in its June ruling was whether Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (which was amended in 1982 to include discriminatory effect as well as intentional discrimination) covered judicial elections. The amended section uses language indicating the Act is violated when, on the basis of race, some voters have less opportunity "to participate in the political process and to elect *representatives* of their choice."

The debate hinged on the word "representatives," with lawyers for the states of Texas and Louisiana asserting that judges are not representatives. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit had agreed with that argument, but the Supreme Court rejected it. Justice John Paul Stevens, writing for the majority, said, "If executive officers, such as prosecutors, sheriffs, state attorneys general and state treasurers can be considered representatives simply because they are chosen by popular election, then the same reasoning should apply to elected judges."

Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, which requires a number of states to obtain advance approval from the U.S. Justice Department before making changes in their voting procedures, already applied to judicial elections. Before the 5th Circuit decision that the High Court overturned, civil rights lawyers had been using the Act to strike down at-large elections. "In every state where at-large judicial elections have been struck down, there has been an increase in the number of black judges," Parker notes. He cites Mississippi and North Carolina as examples. In Mississippi, before the Lawyers Committee and other civil rights attorneys challenged the voting system, there was one black trial judge. Now there are eight. In North Carolina the number has grown from zero to 12 (out of 44).

Because 41 states elect some of their judges, the impact of the High Court ruling could be nationwide, but Parker believes most of the immediate challenges—and progress—will come in the South. Already, lawyers are challenging judicial elections in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Ohio, as well as Texas and Louisiana.

"One of the interesting things to me," Parker says, "is that during the 19th century Reconstruction period there were no black trial judges. Blacks were heavy among the legislators, court clerks, and justices of the peace. The result is that some of these states are getting their first black trial court and appeals court judges ever." ■

Mr. Anderson is a reporter for United Press International.

Sessions

(Continued from page 4)

The Fight for Fair Employment in the Bureau

The decades-old perception that the FBI is hostile to black Americans has been reflected in charges that its employment practices are racially biased. In recent years, the Bureau has paid large sums in out-of-court settlements to black and Hispanic employees who have sued the agency for discrimination. This spring, a group of black FBI special agents submitted to Director Sessions a list of complaints citing 19 areas in employment where they charge the Bureau's employment policies and practices are discriminatory and working conditions are unfair.

Sessions has expressed a willingness to be responsive to the complaints of the black agents and has expanded minority recruitment efforts. Currently, only 4.8 percent of the Bureau's 10,145 agents are black and 5.6 are Hispanic. Some white agents have countercharged that the director's responsiveness could result in "quotas." There is little evidence, however, that white agents are endangered. Just three of the Bureau's 172 top managers in its senior executive service are black (three are Hispanic). Only one of the Bureau's 56 field offices (San Juan, Puerto Rico) is headed by a black agent.

The black agents leveling the most recent complaints have retained attorneys who are conducting an investigation to determine whether the Bureau is violating Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The agents and their attorneys are working toward a settlement with the Bureau that will result in individual as well as classwide relief and changes in the agency's employment procedures. If the parties fail to make substantial progress toward an agreement by the August 15 deadline, the agents may be forced to sue the FBI. Some of the most significant complaints are as follows:

- Promotions. Career advancement for black agents on average takes longer than for their white counterparts. Black agents are often given routine or low-visibility assignments. They also charge that the Management Assessment Process, in which they are rated for supervisory positions, is a subjective system where the "old boy network" prevails and promotions are awarded not on merit but according to who your friends are.
- Compensation. Black agents are frequently denied bonuses and incentive raises, which are awarded on the basis of personal recommendations.
- Racist Working Environment. Several black agents have been subjected to racial slurs, degrading treatment, and threats.
- Discipline. Black agents are disciplined more severely and more frequently than white agents for the same infractions.
- Assignments. Black agents are usually assigned to large urban offices where the cost of living is high. They are also routinely denied their choice of assignment and hardship transfers.
- Retaliation. Those who complain of unfair treatment have been singled out for abuse and retaliation.

—David C. Ruffin

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Strategies for Success in the '90s

Transmitting a Cultural Heritage to Young People and Creating a New College Scholarship Foundation Are Investments Blacks Should Make

by Eddie N. Williams

We all know the story: Noah built an ark; all on board survived a rain of 40 days and 40 nights; they later went forth and multiplied with the blessing of God. I am sure this Biblical story has prompted many lessons in several lands and languages. It also has led to what my friend Louis Gerstner, chairman and CEO of R.J.R. Nabisco, calls the "Noah Principle." The Noah Principle says that you don't get points for predicting rain; you only get a reward for building an ark. This is a valuable message for all of us. The long, hard rain of racism constantly challenges us to build new arks for our survival, our success, and our mastery. The challenge is especially acute today because many of the strategies of the past are no longer as effective as they used to be. Furthermore, some of us are spending too much time predicting rain when we should be building arks. To build the right kind of vessel to overcome today's obstacles we need to know the nature of the problems we face, and we need a strategic plan and the will to make it work.

Dealing with racism today requires understanding how our circumstances and the manifestations of racism have changed over the past four decades. After centuries of servitude, segregation, and subjugation, we are resolved that never again will we tolerate the enslavement and destruction of our people. Indeed, blacks have made great strides in winning public office and serving in positions of national leadership. The black middle class has grown impressively, and more and more blacks are appearing in executive suites, in board rooms of major corporations, in the professions, and as business owners.

While much has changed for the better, much remains to be done. For example, the legal structure of segregation has been largely demolished, yet numerous forms of discrimination persist—in housing, employment, education, the judicial system, and in banking and finance. Nearly a third of the black population is held down by a combination of racism and poverty.

In some respects, we black Americans are not responding to the obstacles that confront us as well as we might. At times we overlook our own growing economic resources as a means of addressing urgent problems, relying too much on an increasingly callous and unresponsive federal government. Changing our perception of where we stand in relation to the "system" and developing a full awareness of and confidence in the resources at our disposal may be easier said than done, but it is a challenge we shirk at our peril.

American society has always been ambivalent and sometimes even hypocritical about the role of government in meeting human needs, facilitating social change, or maintaining an equitable opportunity structure. Although the white majority has supported a restrictive view of government's role in these areas, it has consistently benefited from an active, even expansive government role in such areas as the G.I. Bill and federal support for farmers and businesses. The recent debate over the Civil Rights Act is a case in point. Whereas most blacks perceive widespread employment discrimination and believe government action is required to prevent it, many whites believe relatively little discrimination is occurring and, therefore, that government no longer has a major role to play.

A Joint Center national opinion survey conducted in September 1990 among black and white Americans documents these sharply differing perceptions. The two popu-

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lations were asked to evaluate race relations in their communities. About two-thirds of whites thought race relations were excellent or good and one-third thought they were fair to poor. Blacks' opinions were exactly the reverse: only one-third thought race relations were excellent or good while two-thirds rated them as fair to poor.

Today many blacks continue to rely on government to spur further progress toward equal opportunity and to improve their socioeconomic circumstances. The Reagan and Bush administrations have opposed them at nearly every turn although most Americans agree there is no substitute for the role that government has played and should play. At the same time, there are areas where government will not or should not act and where individuals and communities have the major responsibility.

Many effective self-help initiatives are already offered through the National Urban League, the work of the Coalition of One Hundred Black Women, Gideon's 300, Concerned Black Men, Project 2000, and countless mentoring, tutoring and other volunteer efforts around the country. In these and other efforts we must put our money and our labor where our hopes and aspirations are by providing the resources to replicate and expand such programs.

Blacks must accept the challenge of stretching their financial giving where it makes good sense. The resources exist in the black community to support a variety of philanthropic endeavors. More than a third of all black families now earn over $35,000 a year, and the black middle class continues to grow. By the year 2000 the gross income of black Americans will be over $380 billion. In today's dollars this is equivalent to the gross national product of the ninth largest nation on earth.

Two areas, among many, might be mentioned where the investment of our own dollars makes eminently good sense. One is an overwhelming need to transmit the richness of our traditions and culture to our young people and to offer them a view of the world in which their dreams and their deeds are central to the drama of history. By building on our own institutions—the black church, historically black colleges, and an extraordinary array of civic and service organizations—black Americans can and should establish their own network of cultural centers to serve our young people.

Black cultural centers could be funded, staffed, and administered by black people for black people, functioning after school and on weekends. These cultural centers could address crucial questions like: Who are we as a people? What are the sources of our pride? What initiatives can we take to improve our social and economic condition? How can we resolve the fundamental dilemmas that confront us? What achievements should be celebrated? And what bridges can we build between our community and other communities?

A second, equally important need is financial aid to help more young people attend college. Low and moderate income families, from every racial and ethnic group, are having a harder time affording the rising costs of college. For the past 10 years, there have been drastic cutbacks in financial aid by the federal government and by colleges themselves. Given the state of the national economy, the mood of the country, and the shortsightedness of the current administration, the prospects are not encouraging for a change in federal policies on assisting needy students of any color. Meanwhile, declining black college enrollments, due in large measure to a shortage of funds, could spell disaster for the black community.

The national black leadership should create a nonprofit foundation to raise funds, mainly or at least initially from the black community, to provide financial assistance to needy black students who wish to complete their college education. This foundation would supplement, not supplant, the many worthy organizations that provide valuable assistance to college students. It would certainly not compete with the United Negro College Fund, which supports 41 historically black colleges. The reality is that some 83 percent of black college students attend predominantly white institutions. This new foundation would be a major national enterprise devoted exclusively to raising substantial dollars, identifying promising and needy students, and working with both black and white colleges and universities to administer grant-in-aid funds to deserving applicants. The foundation would also provide information on how students can finance their college educations.

In these endeavors, partnerships with government and coalitions with other groups would be welcome. Those who preceded us challenged us to aim high; to set exemplary standards of service and accomplishment for ourselves; to send a message of hope to our young people; to reach out to those less fortunate in our own community; to build new arks that will enable us not merely to survive but to prosper. In so doing, we will pass along a better world to our children and our children's children. ■

Sixth National Conference of Black Elected Officials Convenes in January

The Sixth National Policy Institute (SNPI)—the quadrennial conference of black elected officials—will convene in Washington, D.C., January 22-25, 1992, at the Washington Hilton. The Institute is the only national forum that brings together black elected and appointed officials from all levels of governance to focus on policy issues of particular importance to African-Americans. Occurring in advance of the 1992 presidential primaries, it will serve as a symposium for discussing the opportunities and obstacles facing black Americans today and for advancing an agenda that addresses their concerns.

SNPI co-sponsors are: Congressional Black Caucus; Judicial Council of the National Bar Association; National Association of Black County Officials; National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials; National Black Caucus of State Legislators; National Caucus of Black School Board Members; National Conference of Black Mayors; and the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

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Campuses Debate Multiculturalism

Calls for Universities to Expand Their Curriculums to Reflect American Diversity Are Vigorously Resisted by Academic Traditionalists

by John L. Jackson

In a lecture at the conservative Heritage Foundation this September, William Bennett, former Reagan administration education secretary, said: "Instead of being in the back of the bus, they [black students] are told to go to the back of the water buffalo and study 14th and 15th century African history—for what purpose God only knows. There's no evidence that this will help them or improve their motivation."

Positions like this one are common among traditionalist professors and student groups who are resisting calls by minorities and women for more diversity in university curriculums. Organizations such as the National Association of Scholars, Accuracy in Academia, and a string of conservative student newspapers are manning the ramparts of academic institutions to repel what minority scholars call multiculturalism and conservatives call "political correctness" (PC). The traditionalists contend that American institutions have their origins in European or "Western" thought, and that this is most faithfully represented in what is referred to as "The Canon"—the works of such Western thinkers as Plato, Locke, Shakespeare, and Milton. The curriculums at American universities must, they argue, be grounded in these works.

On the other side of the argument, some minority, female, and liberal scholars take the position that America is a multicultural society and that the traditional or Eurocentric perspective fails to take that into account. Thus multiculturalists advocate greater incorporation of such disciplines as African, Latin American, Asian, and Native American history, Third World anthropology, and women's studies into courses of study. In an article for the *Journal of Negro Education*, Molefi Asante, chairman of the African American Studies Department at Temple University, states that "By seeing themselves as the subjects rather than the objects of education . . . African Americans can see themselves not merely as seekers of knowledge but as integral participants in it."

Volume Over Substance

Universities are usually thought of as places where debate is encouraged and the right to question one another's viewpoint is guaranteed. Out of this crucible of intellectual discourse, the truth should emerge. Unfortunately, this model of reasoned dialogue does not well describe how the current debate over academic content is being conducted on some of the nation's campuses. Many exchanges between multiculturalists and traditionalists are shrill, emotionally charged arguments where issues are drowned out by the volume of recriminations.

Conservatives recount the horrors of PC "ideologues" bent on "indoctrinating" students with their "dissident opinions," citing as their proof how former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick was shouted down from a podium at the University of California at Berkeley for defending the foreign policy of the Reagan administration or how two Tufts University students chained themselves to their seats to protest a speech by conservative writer Dinesh D'Souza, a research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington and author of the recent book, *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus.*

Traditionalists have branded multiculturalist protesters as "political imperialists" for their confrontational behavior aimed at those with opposing viewpoints. D'Souza often serves up repeated anecdotes of PC excesses as the meat of his lectures. Using the bully pulpit of the White House, President Bush has entered the debate on the side of such traditionalists. In his commencement speech at the University of Michigan this May, Bush said, "In their own Orwellian way, crusades that demand correct behavior crush diversity in the name of diversity."

When President Bush named Carol Iannone, an adjunct professor at New York University (NYU), to fill a vacancy at the National Endowment for the Humanities' (NEH) council in January, her nomination became the center of controversy. The council advises the NEH chairman on the award of grants to support research, education, and public programs in the humanities. Iannone teaches at NYU's Gallatin Division which has been organized around the study of "Great Books," the classical works of Western thinkers. She is also a vice president of the National Association of Scholars, an organization dedicated to promoting the "Western intellectual heritage" at universities.

The controversy revolves around Iannone's remarks that in the last few years, black writers have been awarded coveted literary honors like the Pulitzer Prize not based on the merit of their work but as "reparations" to appease the black literary community. When the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee voted to block her confirmation to the NEH in July, Endowment chair Lynne Cheney complained that Iannone was opposed by committee liberals who saw her views as politically "incorrect."

Senators who voted against Iannone protest that their

(Continued on page 5)

Mr. Jackson, an intern at the Joint Center, is a junior at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

August-September 1991

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- Race is a major factor in determining who gets the death penalty in Georgia, according to a recent study.
- William Gray resigns from Congress to head United Negro College Fund and Philadelphia politicians emerge to run for his House seat.
- Atlanta Congressman John Lewis is appointed to House Democratic Leadership.
- Black environmentalists to convene a summit in Washington, D.C., to focus on waste dumps and chemical plants in their communities.
- Across the Nation: Birmingham mayor Richard Arrington faces two black opponents; California's only black supreme court justice retires; Robert Brown is elected to the Georgia State Senate; and Mayor Kurk Schmoke wins the Democratic primary in reelection bid.

Death by Reason of Color

A report on capital sentencing in the Chattahoochee judicial district in southwest Georgia charges that race is a decisive factor in determining who receives the death penalty, especially if the victim is white and the defendant is black. The Death Penalty Information Center's report, *The Buckle of the Death Belt: The Death Penalty in Microcosm,* says that black defendants accused of killing whites are often tried by an all-white judicial process—white attorneys, white judges, and white juries—which virtually guarantees the death sentence when homicide victimes are white. Prosecutors use peremptory challenges (juror striking) to achieve majority-white or all-white juries. Moreover, poor blacks accused of capital crimes are frequently assigned inexperienced and under-paid court-appointed attorneys to defend them.

The report says that the impact of the judicial process in the Chattahoochee judicial district has yielded the following statistics since 1976, when the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty: blacks comprised 65 percent of homicide victims, but only 15 percent of the capital trials were for black-victim cases; district attorneys sought the death penalty 39 percent of the time when the defendant was black and the victim white, 32 percent when both defendant and victim were white, 6 percent when both were black, and *never* when the defendant was white and the victim black; the death penalty was sought in 48 percent of the cases where the victim was a white female, 9.4 percent when the victim was a black female, and 3 percent when the victim was a black male. The disparities documented in Georgia are of special significance in that, since 1976, three quarters of the executions (113) have taken place in five Southern states: Texas (40), Florida (27), Louisiana (20), Georgia (14), and Virginia (12).

Two bills pending in Congress, the Fairness in Death Sentencing Act sponsored by Rep. **DON EDWARDS** (D-Calif.) and the Racial Justice Act sponsored by Sen. **EDWARD KENNEDY**, were drafted to address the issue of racial disparity in death sentencing. The legislation would allow capital defendants to submit statistical evidence to illustrate that death sentences have been imposed with disproportionate frequency against convicts of one race or as punishment for crimes against victims of one race. The bills are a response to a 1987 Supreme Court decision—*McCleskey* v. *Kemp*—which held that statistical evidence of racial disparity is not sufficient to prove violations of the Eighth Amendment (cruel and unusual punishment) or of the Fourteenth Amendment (equal protection under the law). For the past four years, both bills have failed to get beyond committee consideration.

MICHAEL KROLL, executive director of the Death Penalty Information Center, asserts that at least two things must be done to "minimize the pernicious effects of race and class in death penalty litigation." Congress must approve the Fairness in Death Sentencing legislation and the country's judicial system must appoint competent and

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adequately compensated legal counsel to capitally charged defendants. "Competent legal counsel should be the right of everyone facing a capital trial, the most complex of all criminal procedures. To provide less is to perpetuate a national disgrace."

From Gray to White in Philly?

On June 20, seven-term Pennsylvania Rep. **WILLIAM H. GRAY III** announced his resignation from Congress, effective September 11, to accept the position of president of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF). In doing so, Gray vacates his post as majority whip, which made him the third-highest ranking Democrat in the House. Gray's resignation has generated speculation about who will succeed him as representative of Pennsylvania's 2nd District, located mainly in North Philadelphia.

In considering whether to take the UNCF position, Gray said, "I had a choice of having an impact on a million black college students over the next 10 years or waiting around to be speaker." Gray also said the move would enable him to spend more quality time with his family, and with the congregation of Philadelphia's Bright Hope Baptist Church, which he pastors. As whip, Gray will be replaced by **DAVID BONIOR** (D-Mich.), currently the chief deputy whip, who defeated Democratic Caucus chair **STENY HOYER** (D-Md.) in a July 11 election among House Democrats. Bonior was one of the two opponents Gray had defeated in his 1989 bid for the majority whip position.

Gray's September exit comes too late for the state to hold a special election this fall to replace him as representative of Pennsylvania's 2nd District. Therefore, the selection of a successor won't take place at least until next spring. So far, the only sure candidate is black state secretary for welfare **JOHN WHITE, JR.**, who has resigned his post to run for Congress. Other black Democrats who have shown an interest in the seat include: former Philadelphia City Council member **LUCIEN BLACKWELL**, a political adversary of Gray's whose mayoral aspirations were snuffed out in the May primary; state senator **CHAKA FATTAH**; and former secretary of state **C. DELORES TUCKER**, who is currently chair of the Black Caucus of the Democratic National Committee. Philadelphia mayor **W. WILSON GOODE**, whose term of office expires this year, initially indicated an interest in the seat, but backed off after receiving negative feedback about his chances.

During his 13 years on Capitol Hill, Gray rose quickly to positions of influence and leadership. He served as chairman of the powerful Budget Committee from 1985 to 1989 and was elected to chair the House Democratic Caucus in early 1989. In June, he was elected to the position of whip—the speaker's chief vote getter—beating out colleagues Bonior and **BERYL ANTHONY** (D-Ark.). Gray also chaired the Democratic Party's Platform Committee during the 1988 presidential convention.

Higher education has certainly not been uncharted territory for Gray. Before he became a congressman, he taught theology for 12 years at St. Peter's College, Jersey City State College, Rutgers University, and Montclair State College. As head of the UNCF, Gray will be in charge of one of the nation's largest black fundraising organizations. The Fund provides financial support for 41 private, four-year historically black colleges and universities which take credit for graduating more than one-third of all black Americans with bachelor's degrees. Founded by the late Tuskegee University president Frederick D. Patterson, the UNCF has raised more than $500 million in its 47-year history. Money raised by the Fund helps the member schools maintain low tuition, award scholarships and financial aid to students, expand curriculum, and defray operating costs. Gray plans to raise $250 million for institutional endowments over the next three years and $60 to $100 million to be divided among the institutions for operating funds.

Congressman John Lewis Tapped for House Leadership

In July House speaker **THOMAS FOLEY** appointed Georgia Democratic congressman and veteran civil rights activist **JOHN LEWIS** to be one of three chief deputy whips in the House leadership. The deputy whip positions were newly created by the speaker in an effort to make the House leadership better reflect the diversity of the body. With the announced resignation of majority whip William Gray (D-Pa.) in June, members of the House Women's, Hispanic, and Black caucuses lobbied Foley for representation in the leadership. Southern conservatives had also complained about being locked out of top posts in the House.

Foley obliged by appointing Lewis, Connecticut Rep. **BARBARA KENNELLY**, and conservative Democrat **BUTLER DERRICK** of South Carolina as chief deputy whips. Majority leader **RICHARD GEPHARDT** of Missouri said the appointments represent a "message from the Democratic Party to the American people that the Democratic Party represents the wide diversity and breadth of our country." Previously the House leadership had included one position of deputy whip, held by Michigan Democrat David Bonior who was elected in July to replace Gray as majority whip. In their new positions, Lewis and his two counterparts are to assist Bonior in lobbying for the legislative agenda forwarded by the Democratic leadership.

According to **BRUCE RAGSDALE**, associate House historian, the term "whip" is derived from an 18th century British fox hunting term that meant "to keep the pack together," and the House whip system is patterned after one used in the British Parliament. It was formally established in Congress in 1899 and has expanded significantly in the past 20 years to include assistant and regional whips.

Since his tenure on Capitol Hill began in 1987 Lewis, who represents Georgia's 5th district (which primarily encompasses Atlanta), has often been in the spotlight. It appears that the Democratic Party is grooming him for bigger and better things. This year Foley appointed Lewis to a seat on the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, considered a plum position because the committee's main responsibility is determining other committee assignments. Says Professor **RONALD WALTERS**, political analyst and chairman of the political science department at Howard University, "You bet he is being groomed. John Lewis is recognized for his integrity and for being a hard worker, and these are highly desirable characteristics for party leaders."

Environmental Racism Target of National Summit

The Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, a civil rights advocacy organization, will convene the first National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit from October 24 to 27 in Washington, D.C. According to its organizers, the summit will develop a plan of action to include the concerns of minorities on the national environmental public policy agenda.

CHARLES LEE, a summit organizer and director of research for the commission, says, "There needs to be inclusion of the concerns of persons of color in the national environment agenda, which currently caters to issues like conservation—a priority among middle-class and affluent whites." He said minorities are concerned about the increasing frequency with which their communities are selected for toxic waste disposal sites and chemical plants that produce industrial and pesticide pollution. The commission contends that three out of five African-Americans and Hispanic Americans live in a community with one or more hazardous waste sites and that minorities suffer serious health problems like cancer, lung disease, and birth defects from exposure to environmental pollutants.

The summit is designed as a forum for dialogue between minority leaders and the heads of national environmental organizations, and to offer grassroots minority organizations a chance to focus on environmental policy at the federal, state, and municipal levels. Representatives from the academic, scientific, philanthropic, civil rights, government, and corporate communities are expected to participate.

The commission has examined the issue of environmental racism for several years. In 1987, it published "Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Report on the Racial and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites." Among the report's many findings was that race was the most significant variable in differentiating between communities with nearby hazardous waste sites and other communities.

Summit organizers say the three-day series of meetings is vitally important to minorities because they bear a disproportionate burden of the environmental problems in the country. Minority environmentalists point to the dearth of minorities in major groups like Greenpeace, the Audubon Society, the Sierra Club, and the National Wildlife Federation as evidence that minorities are being excluded from a substantive role in the public policy debate on the environment.

BENJAMIN CHAVIS, JR., executive director of the commission, says, "The evidence clearly shows that it's African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans who are disproportionately living with toxic pollution in their backyards. Our future is at stake. It's precisely because industry doesn't put toxic waste dumps in Beverly Hills that we must insist on being a part of the policy debate."

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: Three black candidates, Municipal Judge **EMORY ANTHONY**, businessmen **RICHARD FINLEY**, and **JOHN C. HAWKINS**, are challenging three-term Democratic Birmingham mayor **RICHARD ARRINGTON, JR.**, for his seat. The candidates will face-off on October 8 in a non-partisan election.

A newcomer to elected politics, Anthony, 39, was appointed municipal judge in 1983 by the city council after serving several years as county prosecutor in the district attorney's office for Jefferson County. His campaign slogan is "It is time for a change" in Birmingham, but he says his campaign is not against the mayor. Focusing on crime, Anthony cites the city's growing murder rate—more than 100 cases this year according to the city police department. He charges that the rise in crime jeopardizes public safety and the business environment of the community. Consequently, he has developed a crime package that calls for a larger police force, an expanded narcotics unit, and partnership programs with the police and the community aimed at keeping youth out of trouble and identifying known drug dealers and drug houses.

In addition to crime, education and economic development are the priority issues of candidate Finley, 41, president of the Alabama Republican Council and a marketing and business consultant. He says the best way to attack the roots of the crime problem--poor education and despair—is for the city to implement programs like an "earn-learn" program where low-income students earn coupons with a monetary value for each book they read and for the Chamber of Commerce to provide employment opportunities for teenagers. "To fight crime we must stem its growth and to do that we must allow our children to dream and imagine better opportunities and a better community," Finley says. He has never held elective office but he challenged Arrington in 1987 when he received only 669 votes. The mayor's other challenger, John Hawkins, a 43-year-old member of the Socialist Workers Party, also challenged Arrington in 1987, but finished last with a mere 146 votes. Hawkins said he is concerned with social issues like labor and women's rights, health, and support for the Cuban revolution.

Arrington's challengers are considered by local observers to be token opposition and it is expected that he will not have a difficult time retaining his office. Since taking the reins in 1979, he is credited with boosting the city's economy by revitalizing downtown Birmingham and attracting new business to the city. He has supported minority firms by awarding them more than $100 million in city contracts and he is also credited with improving relations between the police department and the black community.

CALIFORNIA: **ALLEN E. BROUSSARD**, the lone black jurist on the seven person state supreme court and its most liberal member, retired on August 30. Despite Broussard's urging that he be succeeded by a black jurist, Republican Governor **PETE WILSON** appointed white judge **RONALD GEORGE** to the post. George has been a judge at many levels of the California judicial system for 19 years and last served on the state court of appeal in Los Angeles. Broussard, 62, was appointed to the state high court in 1981 by former Democratic Governor **EDMUND G. BROWN, JR**. Prior to that appointment he served on the Alameda County Superior Court and the Oakland-Piedmont Municipal Court. Broussard was the second black to serve on the supreme court. He replaced the court's first black judge **WILEY W. M. MANUEL**, who was also appointed by Brown and served almost four years before he died in January of 1981. Since the late 1980s the state supreme court has shifted to a strong conservative majority.

GEORGIA: On August 6, **ROBERT BROWN**, 41, a black community activist of Macon and partner in the real estate firm of Brown and Billingslea was elected to the Georgia state senate. A former member of the Bibb County School Board, Brown, a Democrat, capped the lead in a five man in the July 16 special election for a seat in a predominantly white state senate seat which encompasses Bibb County. He went on to defeat white former city council member and attorney **ROBERT A.B. REICHERT** in the August 6 run-off. Brown fills the seat vacated by white Democrat **TOMMY OLMSTEAD** who resigned to run for mayor of Macon, a post he won on September 10 defeating the incumbent mayor **LEE ROBINSON** and black former city council member **GERALD HARVEY** who finished second with 21 percent of the vote.

MARYLAND: It was deja vu all over again but better for black Baltimore mayor **KURT SCHMOKE**. Beating opponents he has faced before, he easily won the September 12 Democratic primary in his bid for a second term with a comfortable 59 percent of the vote. Schmoke's closest competitor was **CLARENCE "DU" BURNS**, the black former president of the city council who assumed the post of mayor in 1986 when then mayor and now Maryland governor **WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER** stepped down to run for the state's highest office. Schmoke and Burns also faced each other in the primary four years ago. The results of that contest were much closer with Schmoke winning by a narrow margin of about 5,000 votes. Also in the race was white former state's attorney **WILLIAM SWISHER**. Schmoke broke into politics in 1982 by defeating Swisher who was running for reelection. Schmoke's primary victory assures him another four years as mayor in this overwhelmingly Democratic town. His Republican opponent in the November 5 general election is attorney **SAMUEL A. CULOTTA** whom Schmoke also beat four years ago.

Correct

(Continued from page 4)

opposition was based not on her philosophy but on her limited qualifications and modest contributions to scholarship. They charge that Cheney has used the issue as a propaganda vehicle. Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.), a member of the senate committee and himself a professor of political science for 21 years (most recently at Carleton College) explains that he voted against the nominee because he found she was not "distinguished in her field" as the NEH selection criteria for the council require. The committee subsequently approved, unanimously, two other conservative nominees to the NEH council whom they found met the Endowment's standards.

Who's the Victim?

Professors sympathetic to multiculturalism argue that the label "political correctness" and the repetition of the same handful of stories about "PC radicals" are devices used by the other side to imply that multiculturalists are inserting politics into the discussion and suppressing debate, claiming at the same time that their own motives are not political. According to Katherine Bartlett, professor of law at Duke University, "The term 'political correctness' is simply used by conservatives to pejoratively label opposing views, serving to misrepresent, exaggerate and distort those viewpoints." Catharine Stimpson, dean of the graduate school at Rutgers University, says that multicultural disciplines are caricatured with labels like "victim studies." She questions the veracity of many of the tales of horror coming from traditionalists.

Bartlett says there is no ideological blackjacking of conservatives going on at Duke and no threat to open dialogue but states there is ample evidence to the contrary. First of all, she notes, it is not the traditional courses on Western thought and literature that are being attacked, but rather the women's studies, African American studies, and Native American courses. Moreover, most of Duke's department chairs are white males with traditional ideas about education. In addition, the campus has an active chapter of the National Association of Scholars and conservative students have their own independent newspaper, the *Duke Review*, patterned after the independent *Dartmouth Review* at Dartmouth College.

The *Dartmouth Review* has gained national notoriety for its attacks on blacks, feminists, homosexuals, and activists who support causes like South African liberation and relieving world hunger. The publication has become a model for about 60 conservative student newspapers on other campuses, which are generously supported by conservative foundations.

As Leon Botstein, president of Bard College, observes, "The American academy has always been political—as more women and minorities enter our universities, the politics of the academy are changing. Traditionalist faculty and students are resisting these changes because they feel that their strongly held beliefs are under attack." Stanley Fish who chairs the English Department at Duke compares traditionalist to the Soviet hardliners who initiated the August coup against Mikhail Gorbachev in an attempt to "turn the clock back out of fear of newly empowered voices."

For their part, multiculturalists report having been accosted verbally and even physically by some opponents on campus who have denigrated them with terms like "nigger" and "faggot." Multiculturalists protest that minorities and women are subjected to treatment in classrooms that is not conducive to academic achievement and interferes with the free exchange of ideas. In a *New York Times* column on the problem, Gunther Stent, chairman of Berkeley's Department of Molecular and Cell Biology and Judith Martin, who writes the syndicated Miss Manners column wrote, "Education is impossible without the order that prevents intimidation and mayhem."

Qualified Free Speech

To quell such confrontations and restore civility to campus discourse some universities have adopted speech codes that put abusive language beyond the pale. Law professor Tom Grey, drafter of the Stanford speech code, says, "I am in favor of bans on racial, sexual, and homophobic epithets face-to-face if it is likely that they will evoke a physical reaction and confrontation. We've had the speech code for a year now and it has not stopped debate, the free flow of information on campus, or resulted in academic conformity."

The heat and nastiness that the debate generates at times has posed a dilemma. If some speech can be banned, is the freedom of all speech threatened? Some believe that by curbing verbal harassment by extremists in the traditionalist camp, progressives could be opening a Pandora's box that will work against them in the long run. In the *Wall Street Journal*, Yale University President Benno C. Schmidt, Jr., wrote that universities cannot censor speech, no matter how obnoxious, without truly "violating their justification for existence." In a *Washington Post* op-ed piece, syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer wrote that if students are offended by something said to them on campus they should accept such experiences and learn from them. "If students are offended by what flows from constitutional free speech," he writes, "too bad."

Several scholars, however, suggest that some racist and sexist epithets are like crying "fire" in a crowded theatre. Fish argues that "universities are not places for unchecked freedom of speech. . . They are schools, not radio talk shows. We should not make an abstraction of freedom of speech laws. It is not an unqualified right."

Ironically, in the 1970s, "it was academic conservatives who argued that the life of the mind required a higher standard of civility and respect for the views of others," according to Michael Kinsley, an editor of *The New Republic* magazine, "...and insisted that students who could not agree to such a standard did not belong in the academic community." Kinsley is one of the voices calling for extremists on both sides to curb their excesses and lower the volume. ■

Were Sanctions Lifted Too Soon?

Whether President Bush Adhered to the Intent of Congress When He Removed Sanctions From South Africa Remains in Question

by Walter C. Carrington

A decade-long, intensive struggle spearheaded by TransAfrica, the Congressional Black Caucus, and local anti-apartheid support groups around the country culminated in 1986 in Congress's passage, over a presidential veto, of the first extensive set of economic sanctions against South Africa. This act brought to a close the long period of U.S. support, as expressed through the Reagan policy of "constructive engagement," for the South African government, which awoke to find itself on the wrong side of American public opinion.

State president F. W. de Klerk, at the head of Pretoria's new leadership, responded in part by vowing in 1989 to end apartheid and move towards a non-racial democracy. The first earnest of this resolve came in February 1990 with the release from 27 years of imprisonment of African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela. Critics of the sanctions approach quickly hailed the new day in South Africa and began agitating for partial repeal of the legislation to reward the South African government for the steps it was taking.

Their wish was granted on July 10, 1991, when President George Bush lifted the sanctions imposed by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (CAAA), citing the progress made by the South African government as sufficient to meet the standards set forth in the legislation. The sanctions had restricted new investments by U.S. corporations in South Africa, banned loans to agencies of the South African government, closed American airports to South African Airways, and forbade a number of imports and exports including the much-traded krugerrand gold coin. Under the CAAA's terms, President Bush was given discretion to terminate the sanctions if he certified that all political prisoners held by the South African government had been released and that three of the other four conditions had been satisfied. He was mandated to end sanctions if he determined that all five of the Act's conditions had been met.

The argument over whether President Bush acted prematurely is really a continuation of the basic debate between the advocates and opponents of sanctions. Those who originally opposed their enactment, including both Reagan and Bush, have since interpreted every action taken by the South African government in its most favorable light, while the proponents of sanctions have examined those same actions through the most skeptical of lenses. In lifting sanctions, President Bush abandoned his usual strict constructionist stance and interpreted the legislation loosely just as anti-apartheid groups insisted on hewing to what they perceived to be the original intent of the framers of the Act.

Did South Africa Meet the Conditions?

A close reading of the CAAA reveals that it is not nearly so flexible as those who would lift sanctions assert nor so restrictive as those who would have sanctions maintained indefinitely contend. The law established five conditions which had to be satisfied before sanctions could be removed, including: the release of political prisoners; repeal of the state of emergency; the unbanning of political parties; the repeal of major apartheid laws; and good faith negotiations with the black majority toward the establishment of a non-racial democracy. To make an informed judgement as to whether South Africa has satisfied the conditions, it is necessary to examine their precise language.

Release of Prisoners. The first and paramount condition was the release from prison of Nelson Mandela and "all persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained unduly without trial." Most of the debate centered around the question of political prisoners. Bush argued that under the traditional definition, i.e. one imprisoned for political beliefs, a case-by-case assessment by the U.S. embassy in Pretoria had indeed certified that all prisoners of conscience had been set free.

His opponents in the anti-apartheid movement, led by TransAfrica, pointed out that many political prisoners meeting a broader definition agreed upon by both the ANC and the South African government, those arrested for political actions, still remained behind bars. In addition, they argued, thousands of political prisoners remained in the jails of South African "Homelands," reservation-like territories whose independence the United States has never recognized. Whether this crucial condition has been met depends on whose definition of political prisoner is accepted. It is hard to believe that the Congress meant to establish a standard less rigorous than that agreed to by the South African government.

Repeal of the State of Emergency. Condition Two for ending sanctions called for the repeal of "the state of emergency in effect on the date of the enactment of the [CAAA] and the release of all detainees held under such state of

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Mr. Carrington, a consultant on international affairs to the Joint Center, is a former United States ambassador to Senegal.

emergency." The state of emergency referred to in the Act was repealed in October of last year. But anti-apartheid groups have argued that through laws enacted before the state of emergency, the government retains draconian powers to jail or ban indefinitely and without trial anyone it chooses. Nevertheless, the existence of these laws was known to Congress in 1986 and it had elected not to make their removal a condition for the discontinuation of sanctions. It is fair to conclude, therefore, that the South African government has met Condition Two of the Act, notwithstanding the fact that its enactment of the Public Safety Act of 1986 might make it easier for Pretoria to reimpose a state of emergency in the future.

Unbanning Political Parties. Condition Three required the government to unban "democratic political parties" and permit "the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the right to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process." There can be no doubt about the unbanning of democratic political parties. The de Klerk government even went a step further than the CAAA required and unbanned the Communist Party. However, it is the final clause of the condition—"otherwise participate in the political process"—that is troublesome to the White House's case. If Congress had intended nothing more than allowing political parties to organize, there would have been no need to add that clause. It need not mean "one person, one vote." It must require something more than just being allowed to go through the motions of political activity.

Blacks in South Africa today, apart from organizing parties, remain unable to participate in the political process. Their districts are unrepresented in Parliament. There are no elected officials to whom they can present their grievances because they are still not considered citizens of South Africa. They have no more suffrage rights than they had when the CAAA was passed. They could not vote or stand for elective office outside the black townships then and they cannot now. Until they can, Condition Three cannot be said to have been met.

Repeal of Apartheid Legislation. Condition Four required the repeal of the Group Areas Act (which defined where racial groups may live) and the Population Registration Act (which classified all South Africans by race). Both were repealed in June, so this condition would have been met if that were all it required. But the Act went on to say that South Africa must "institute no other measures with the same purpose." Does legislation passed by many localities to prevent blacks from moving into "white areas" after the Group Area Act's repeal qualify as measures forbidden by the CAAA? Lawyers may differ in interpreting whether Congress intended to bar only actions by the national government or those undertaken by local authorities as well.

The scrapping of the Population Registration Act raises other questions. Its repeal was explicitly crafted by the national government to have immediate effect only upon those born since February 1990. All other South Africans would continue to be categorized as either black, Asian, mixed race (coloured) or white. They were given little more than a promissory note, linking the ending of these compulsory classifications to the adoption of a new constitution.

Blacks still suffer the disabilities attendant to the racial classification they endured before the Act's repeal. Black children remain barred from attending white schools, and black pensioners continue to receive government benefits inferior to those granted to whites. Upon repeal, the South African government promulgated regulations which would keep in place the political institutions and practices established along the racial lines laid down in the Act. These attempts to preserve the status quo until a new constitution is ratified would clearly seem to run up against the CAAA's prohibition that South Africa "institute no other measures with the same purpose" as the Population Registration Act. If Pretoria adheres to the timetable it set, Condition Four cannot be met until a new constitution is in place.

Progress Toward Democracy. Condition Five required that the South African Government "agree to enter into good-faith negotiations with truly representative members of the black majority without preconditions." This condition was thought to have been met since the South African government appeared to be engaged in such negotiations with the ANC at the time President Bush ended the sanctions. However, there have been subsequent revelations that while the talks with the ANC were under way, the South African government was secretly funding Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party in an effort to undermine the ANC, fuel violence in black townships, and persuade the outside world that Pretoria had substantial black support for its policies.

In addition to those five conditions, Bush was also required under the terms of CAAA to certify that the South African Government had "made substantial progress toward dismantling the system of apartheid and establishing a non-racial democracy." Even if one believes that much has been done to dismantle apartheid, there must also be a showing that, in addition, there has been substantial progress towards democratization. No substantive evidence has been presented by President Bush on this point.

More Psychological Than Economic Boost

While the lifting of sanctions provided a psychological boost to the South African government, Pretoria is not soon likely to see any substantial economic benefits. American companies have shown no great eagerness to rush back in before the volatile political situation stabilizes. Many American states and cities have their own sanctions legislation on the books, forbidding those who would contract with them from doing business with South Africa.

The administration has hinted that it might test these statutes in court, arguing that they infringe upon the prerogative of the federal government to make foreign policy. There is no sign that any of these laws is likely to be repealed in the wake of the lifting of CAAA sanctions, especially since other federal sanctions remain in place, the most important of which precludes the U.S. representative

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Sanctions

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to the International Monetary Fund from supporting loans to the Pretoria government. Attacking local laws in court could also be a two-edged sword, since it would give opponents of the President's actions legal standing they now lack to raise in the same court arguments over the lawfulness of the lifting of sanctions.

Legal arguments over the sanctions bill's interpretation aside, even its opponents grudgingly admit it was a significant factor in moving the South African government along the path to ending apartheid. How significant a factor is still disputed. A look at the situation in South Africa before and after its passage greatly bolsters the case of those who contend that CAAA was crucial for persuading the government and its white supporters to hasten progress toward dismantling apartheid. Arguments over whether it weakened or strengthened the economy are beside the point.

What is more significant is that important segments of the South African business community perceived the sanctions to be the first of what could be even harsher measures from the international community. As a result, for the first time, sustained, effective pressure was brought upon the Nationalist Party government by white moderates to abolish apartheid. In 1987 meetings took place, against the wishes of the government, between business leaders and the proscribed African National Congress. Two years later, Nationalist Party leader and state president P.W. Botha was replaced by the more pragmatic F.W. de Klerk. The new president soon discovered that for the first time there was a substantial white constituency for change, one that was greatly influenced by its fear of total isolation from the Western allies who had stood by their country in the past.

The current outlook for passage of new congressional sanctions is bleak, given the threat of a Presidential veto, but anti-apartheid activists are likely to keep the pressure on. They will insist that the State Department give a complete accounting of the evidence on which it based its assessment that all political prisoners have been released. In addition, they will call for a careful monitoring by Congress of the actions of the de Klerk government in light of the revelations of its secret funding of Inkatha.

Inside South Africa, the uncovering of the de Klerk-Buthelezi alliance has resulted in a cabinet shake-up in which the ministers of Defense and Law and Order were demoted. Of greater long-range significance is the blow this episode has dealt to Buthelezi's claim that he is independent of the government which he has sometimes criticized but on whose payroll he remains as Chief Minister of the Kwazulu Homeland. Nelson Mandela and the ANC will feel less compulsion to negotiate with him. Instead, they will intensify their demand for an interim government to handle the transition to democratic rule, insisting that the de Klerk government has shown itself incapable of being both referee and participant. ■

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